

# IN THESE TIMES

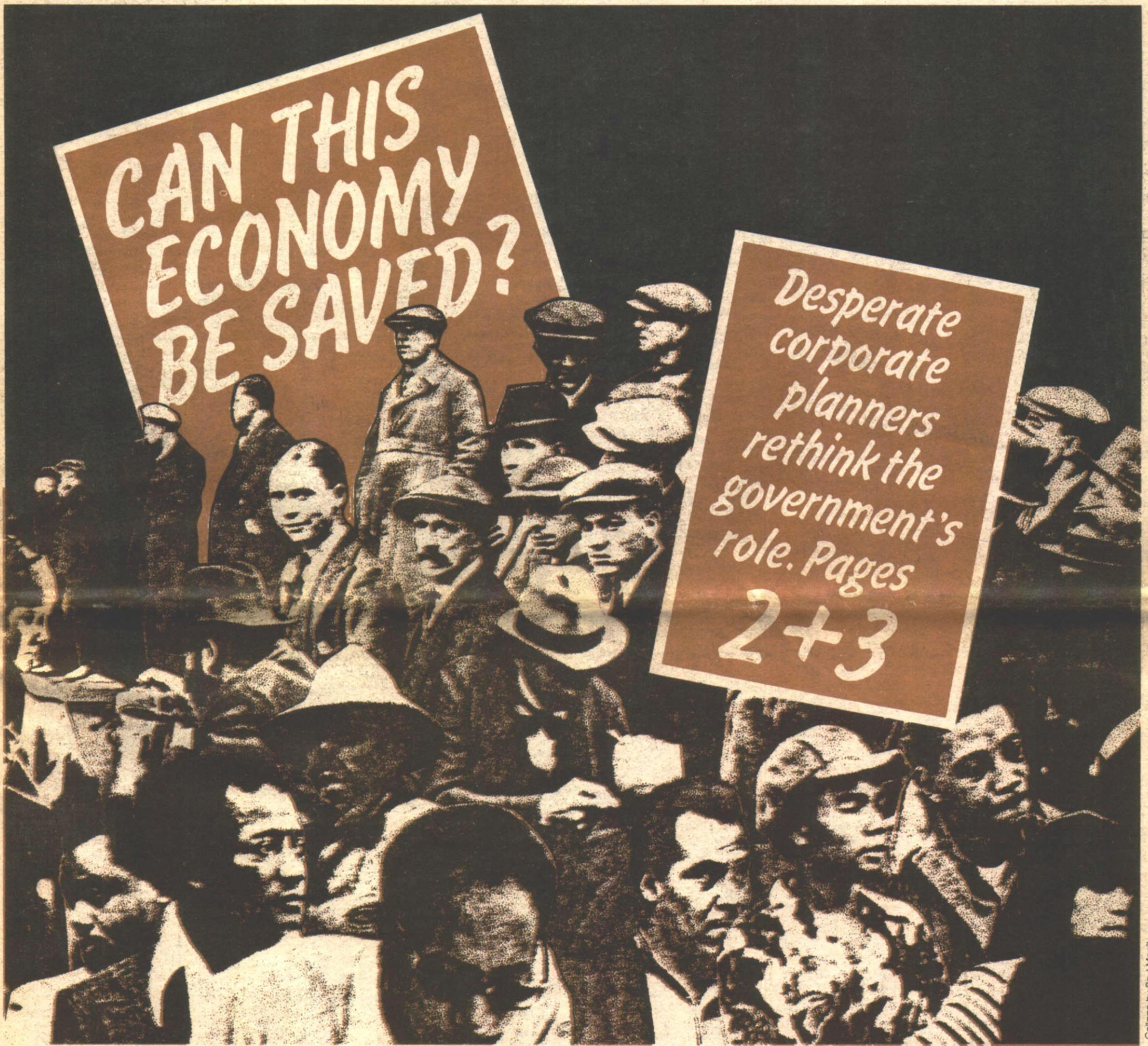
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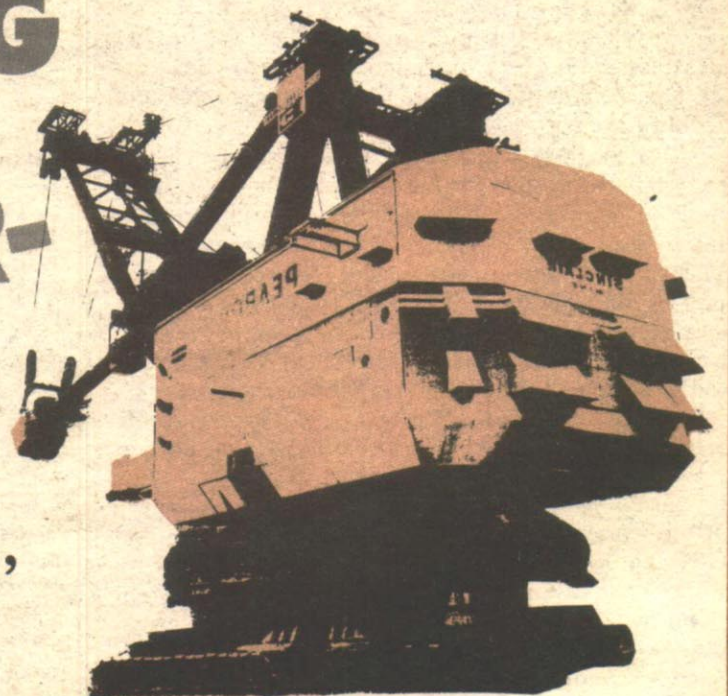
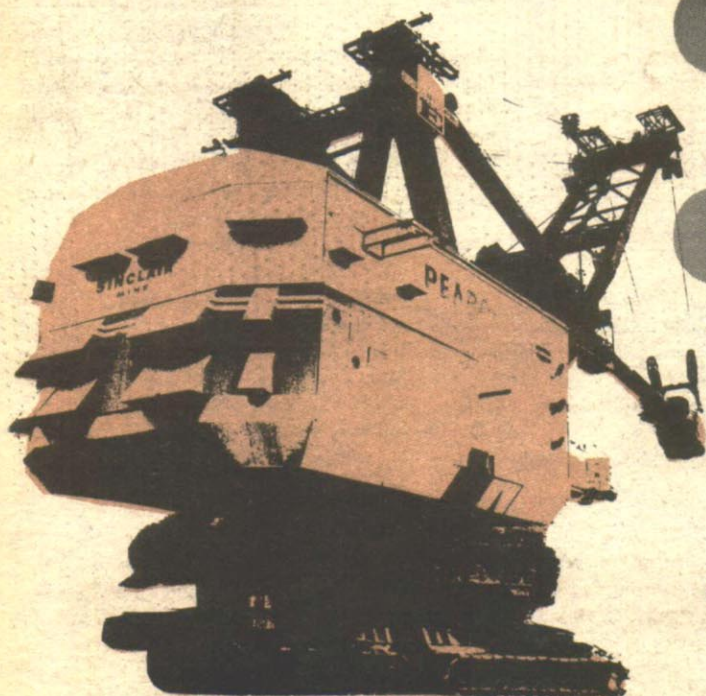


Collage by Paul Merrill

## CARVING UP THE CUMBER- LANDS

Strip miners  
"take the cream  
and spoil the milk."

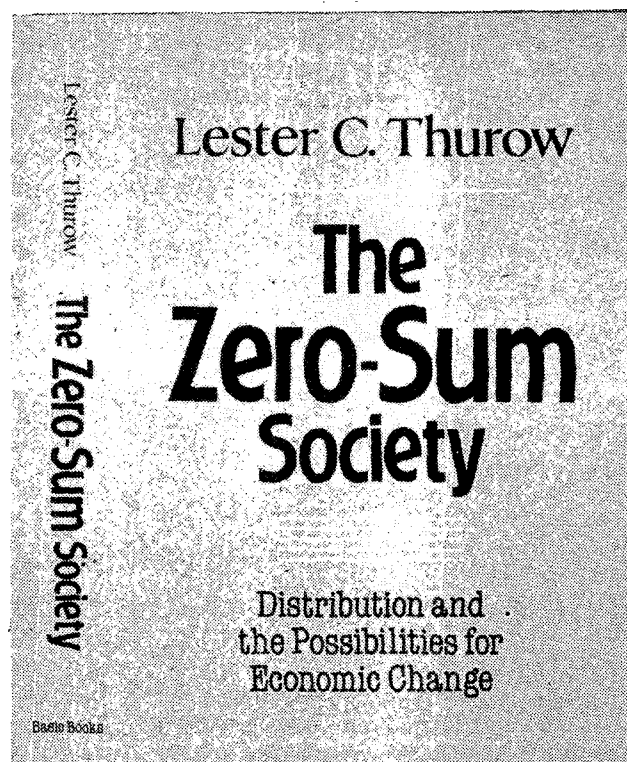
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# THE INSIDE STORY



## The shortcomings of "zero-sum" logic

By John Judis

There is agreement among economists that since the early '70s the United States has entered a period of economic decline relative to both its national competitors and its past performance. But there is less agreement about why this decline has occurred and what can be done to reverse it.

Conservatives like Alan Greenspan believe the fault lies with increasing government regulation and taxes, which have created an inflationary spiral and discouraged investment. They prescribe a large dose of deregulation and business tax cuts.

This analysis doesn't hold up under even the most cursory examination. The U.S. is among the least taxed and least regulated of the capitalist countries. It can as easily be argued that the absence of regulation and the lack of stiff taxes contributed to American economic decline.

Liberal economists have been generous with such refutations, but they have been remarkably stingy when it has come to proposing alternative solutions. Instead, liberals like Charles Schultze, the current chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, have drifted willy-nilly into the conservative corner.

The publication of Lester Thurow's *The Zero-Sum Society* (Basic Books, \$12.95) marks a significant step forward for the liberal alternative. MIT economist Thurow, who served last year as an adviser to *The New York Times* editorial board, rejects recession and regressive income redistribution as remedies, and he tries to fashion—out of a strange mixture of neo-conservative and democratic socialist ideas—an equitable and viable future for American capitalism.

During the '60s, most American economists believed that the battle against the business cycle had been won. With the emergence of double-digit inflation and unemployment in the '70s, they have introduced various *dei ex machina* and uninvited guests to explain the new economic unhappiness. The most prominent of these have been the Vietnam war (the financing of which is supposed to have set the U.S. irrevocably on a downward course) and the post-1973 OPEC oil price shocks. Following this practice, Thurow puts primary blame on OPEC, but he also pays some heed to structural conditions in the American economy.

Thurow sets up a vicious circle that begins with the OPEC's price rises and artificial energy shortage and with what he describes as the "indexed economy." In the interests of economic security, interest groups representing labor, different industries, welfare recipients and the elderly banded together to protect themselves against economic decline through winning wage and price increases, tariffs, quotas, subsidies and increased transfer payments. Without these interests, the oil

prices increases might have been counterbalanced by declines in the prices of other goods.

The artificial energy shortage created by OPEC directly discourages investment. But the oil price increases, as translated into general inflation, also discourage investment. When governments use fiscal and monetary restraint to stop inflation by creating unemployment and idle capacity, they discourage new investments and retard productivity. With productivity increasing at only 1 percent a year during the '70s, largely because of unused capacity, wage and benefit increases are translated directly into further inflation. In this way, the circle begins anew.

It is difficult to get out of this vicious circle without attacking the system of economic indexing. One way to increase productivity is to force American firms to do battle with foreign competitors—in effect, letting the strong "sunrise" industries survive and the weak "sunset" industries collapse. But the collapse of industries like steel and shipbuilding will imperil thousands of workers and stockholders.

One way to encourage domestic energy investment and the creation of alternative energy sources is to permit oil and gas prices to rise as high as the market will bear. But as Thurow points out, such price rises will spell hardship for energy-poor regions like the Northeast and for lower-income groups, who must spend a proportionately greater part of their income for energy-related items.

On the other hand, to maintain price controls over energy and trigger prices for steel also imposes hardships. Price controls discourage new investment and hold down the pressure for creating alternative sources. Trigger prices and other quotas and subsidies also raise the costs of other goods—if steel is more expensive, so are automobiles. They leave more commodities in need of protection and government aid, and the U.S. is left less able to compete with foreign producers in world markets.

Thurow characterizes this state of the American economy as a "zero-sum game" in which progress can be achieved only at some group's expense. It is a situation of political stalemate and economic stagnation.

To resolve this mess, Thurow proposes solutions that place him somewhere between Ronald Reagan and Michael Harrington. Unlike most liberal economists, Thurow acknowledges that mere government regulation is "not a good halfway point between the free market and government ownership." Either deregulation or nationalization might solve America's energy crisis; price controls alone will only make things worse.

But instead of embracing either Adam Smith or Karl Marx, Thurow tries to combine them. He advocates deregulation wherever possible, but then balances its shortcomings by government intervention. The result is politically and economically unfeasible, but nevertheless an advance for liberal economics.

To spur investment and strengthen high-growth high-productivity industries, Thurow would deregulate energy prices and eliminate all tariffs, quotas and subsidies. He would establish job-training for laid-off workers, and some kind of progressive tax reform to soften the blow of deregulation.

But Thurow acknowledges that these steps would be insufficient. Deregulation by itself would not ensure investments in alternative energy sources and in new production technology—both of which can be too costly and risky for individual corporations. Thurow therefore proposes "the national equivalent of a corporate investment committee" that would target and aid sunrise industries and fund new energy sources and production technologies.

By themselves, these measures would also do little to

correct the existing inequities between whites and minorities and men and women, which are based on a job market that assigns women and minorities the most marginal employment. Citing the history of peace-time unemployment since 1929, Thurow acknowledges that "private enterprise is incapable of guaranteeing jobs for everyone who wants to work." Lacking any counter-measures, women and black teenagers would be expected to fare as poorly as before. In fact, with an emphasis on capital intensive industries, they might fare considerably worse.

Thurow therefore supplements deregulation and his investment board—proposals that New York financier Felix Rohatyn would not object to—with a call for a full-employment program in which the government would "create a socialized sector of the economy designed to give work opportunities to everyone who wants them but cannot find them elsewhere." Because these jobs would be comparable to private employment in both income and function, they would equalize income within the working and middle classes.

The flaws in Thurow's proposals emanate partly from his analysis, which overlooks the international character of capitalist decline in favor of an "uninvited guest" analysis. All the capitalist countries have experienced slower growth, higher unemployment and inflation in the '70s. The cause is partly oil prices, but it is also excess capacity in such key post-war industries as steel, ships, textiles and petrochemicals.

This problem of excess capacity has created a new determination on the part of business to raise its return on investment. It has meant the exodus of countless American and European firms to low-wage, non-union Third World countries, as well as to less developed national regions like the American South.

The rise of the multinational corporation has made free trade no longer synonymous with economic health. It becomes the pretext for impoverishing both foreign and domestic workers.

Viewed in this light, Thurow's proposals for deregulation and full employment probably won't work. Full-employment policies will create upward pressures on wages and prices. By threatening a profit squeeze, they will discourage domestic investment and encourage more capital flight.

There are ways to prevent profit squeezes and capital flight—through wage-price and investment controls—but Thurow is unwilling to embrace either. He never considers investment controls. And he dismisses wage-price controls for the long-term "perversities" they create in the economy.

His unwillingness to consider these proposals, which would extend the sway of the public over the private realm, probably reflects a pessimism about political possibilities as much as a conviction about economic laws. Thurow's "zero-sum society" is, above all, a society in which labor and corporate capital have reached a certain parting of the ways. Thurow's proposals reflect an attempt to reconcile in thought what citizens will be unable to reconcile in action—corporate capitalists' relentless drive toward free market solutions, even at the expense of labor peace and immiseration, and labor's less relentless, but recognizable drift toward a politics of full employment and public ownership. ■

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# New policies for hard times

By David Moberg

**T**HE CURRENT RECESSION, which may soon qualify for the dubious honor of marking the worst economic slump since the great depression of the '30s, has brought into high relief the economic woes of the decade—slow growth, protracted inflation and rising unemployment that refuse to respond to traditional tinkering, and diminished U.S. capacity to compete in price, quality, innovation or sensitivity to people's needs with other capitalist industrial nations. With traditional basic manufacturing industries—steel, auto, textiles, electronics, rubber and railroads, just to mention a few—reeling under the impact of short-sighted management tuned into the narrowest profit orientation, of disinvestment by multinational conglomerates, or of tough foreign competition, there are lots of people worrying that America is losing its economic guts. Maybe old and bold industrial eagle is about to waddle into the imperial sunset in decadent, not-so-genteel poverty.

The catchword solution to this particular malaise that is now on the lips of editorialists, politicians, lobbyists and influential policy advisers of nearly all political stripes is "reindustrialization." Reindustrialization is the hot word in Washington," a lobbyist for a pro-business group says, "and everyone is hopping on the bandwagon." It's a peculiar bandwagon at this point, however, with horses going in several different directions and a number of tunes not totally harmonized.

In its simplest, pro-business formulation the call for reindustrialization is simply a pitch for more capital to the corporations, less protection for the environment, workers' safety and consumer interests, reduction in government spending for income support and general societal welfare, tax cuts and shortening of depreciation schedules (such as the Jones-Conable bill) that effectively reduce business taxes, and a lenient governmental eye toward ruthlessness in trade practices, monopolization and bribery used to expand American business.

## Sophisticated intervention.

But in any of its more sophisticated terms, "reindustrialization" entails some form of intervention in the economy by the state, working in cooperation with corporate and banking leaders and organized labor, to some extent to set priorities for the economy. Many business people, especially from boom industries or regions, from small companies, or from ultra-conservative political traditions, resist such a move as a step toward planning that dreaded word—and away from the sacred free market. But more insightful corporate leaders, especially those with a broad vision of U.S. business and how it fits in the world economy, implicitly recognize that the market is, to put it mildly, imperfect.

"Reindustrialization is a confession of bankruptcy of the market as the major system of allocation" of the nation's wealth, argues Gar Alperovitz, an economist and co-director of the National Center for Economic Alternatives. But this economic failure of the market and shift towards even minimally more direct planning carries with it important political implications. "Then the question is who controls the planners and what interests they serve," Alperovitz adds.

Yet the immediate impact of the discussion of reindustrialization will not be any national planning agency but rather a tax cut, weighted heavily to business, and then some form of revision of de-



preciation schedules. In response to Ronald Reagan's proposed \$22 billion tax cut for fiscal year 1981 and \$36 billion for the whole calendar year, the Senate Democratic leadership has rushed to produce its own scaled-down tax-cut bill. Although Carter is reluctant for political reasons to execute another policy flip, after stressing the need for austerity and a balanced budget in his revised fiscal message last March, the administration will soon offer its own tax cut, to be voted on before the elections but enacted afterwards. Instead of the usual two-thirds cut for individuals, one-third for business, inflation adviser Alfred Kahn says, Carter's proposal will give business half the break—undoubtedly in the name of productivity and reindustrialization.

## Sacrifice.

Within the Carter administration, the leading advocate of a forthright industrial policy is former sociology professor

trialization advocates, he includes an expanded military as part of the plan. Such a shift of "core project," he argues, will require sacrifice, and it won't be from capital.

The theme of sacrifice crops up repeatedly in the debate about reindustrialization—in ex-candidate Jerry Brown's speeches, from John Anderson (who has the support of one of the leading advocates of planned government aid, investment banker Felix Rohatyn), and from academics, including left-liberal Lester Thurow of MIT (see Inside Story for a review of Thurow's *The Zero-Sum Society*). Money for rebuilding industry must come, they argue, from taxes and from more spartan living.

But there is an alternative, comes the argument from the left: first, take steps to maintain full employment. Recessions and idle capacity even in the best of times have robbed the nation of more potential investment capital (not to mention taxes and income for workers) than

Selective public subsidies for business amount to planning, without the name.

Amitai Etzioni, who argues that the nation must abandon its recently formulated "core project" of improving the quality of life and shift instead to a core project of rebuilding industry. Etzioni takes a small step beyond the usual Republican and neo-conservative positions by urging primary attention to "infrastructure and capital goods," although like many of the conservative reindus-

would be provided by the generous Jones-Conable depreciation bill. In the last recession, Michael Harrington points out in his recent *Decade of Decision*, the nation lost \$435 billion in production. If the unemployment rate was lowered by 1 percent and held there for a decade, Alperovitz says, we would gain \$1 trillion in output. And even Thurow, in an implicit admission that not every-

thing in the economy is a zero-sum game, notes that at least 30 percent of the drop in productivity in recent years can be attributed to idle capacity.

The critics of the generalized tax cut, in addition to arguing for the primacy of a full employment policy, also attack the wastefulness and indirection in such indiscriminate policies. "You can't solve the economy's problems simply by throwing money at them," one activist quipped in a turn of the phrase used by neo-conservatives against government social legislation. Even *Business Week*, in an entire issue devoted to an argument for a new industrial policy, noted that corporations have been spending \$40 billion a year (again, roughly the amount the Jones-Conable bill would provide) in buying up other businesses, expenditures that produce nothing of value and have led in many cases to the undermining of American industry.

## A new contract?

*Business Week* explicitly argued for a new social contract between government, business and labor, although a contract insulated from "interest groups" (that is, democratic accounting). A few steps are already being taken in this direction: a formal Tri-Partite Steel Committee, recent labor-industry-administration talks on the auto industry that are leading to an auto policy statement, and a joint AFL-CIO-Carter administration working group on "reindustrialization." (AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland said he might support a tax cut if it were directed to reindustrialization, but deputy research director Henry Schechter emphasized the AFL-CIO's preference for more precisely targeted aid to selected industries.)

With the successful models of foreign social democratic planning or the Japanese cooperation of banks, corporations, the government and unions before them, many business leaders feel that there must be some way of picking winners and losers, scuttling some industries quickly and pouring lots of capital into others to gain international supremacy, treating the nation as one large conglomerate corporation rather than remaining captive of a mythical free market long ago compromised and rendered ineffective.

"They want planning without calling it planning," National Center for Economic Alternatives co-director Jeff Faux says, noting that each of the major contenders for president has a consultant urging some form of government reindustrialization agency—Etzioni for Carter, Rohatyn for Anderson, and Charles Walker, chairman of the American Council for Capital Formation, for Reagan. (Kennedy, during the final round of primaries, called for an "American Reindustrialization Corporation" on the scale of the post-war Marshall Plan for rebuilding Europe.) Each varies in the degree to which there should be planning or targeting, "but their basic theme is the same: increased subsidization of corporate capital." Other differences between advocates include the degree to which an industrial policy would systematize action to save failing industries (a priority of Rohatyn's renewed Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and of great interest as more Chryslers come to Washington) or would, instead, promote production and export in growing, possibly high-technology, advanced science-based industries (such as computers, microelectronics or biological engineering).

## A greater public role.

Faux and Alperovitz argue that industrial policy, balancing central government and local planning ("conscious centralization is a precondition for decentralization," Harrington notes), should make "community full employ-

Continued on page 8.



# IN SHORT

## Don't mourn—advertise!

American ad agencies have been moving enthusiastically into Zimbabwe ever since Robert Mugabe's landslide victory, according to *Advertising Age*. While the white business community has been dismayed by certain recent changes—such as news broadcasters' practice of adding "comrade" before the names of all African and socialist leaders—the admen are keeping their chins up and their wallets open.

"We all know that industry could be nationalized tomorrow and business could grind to a halt," said Stuart Ingram of Barker McCormic, "but at the moment I'm feeling more optimistic."

Added Michael Hogg of Michael Hogg Advertising: "Mr. Mugabe today looks like a very clever man. When he was in Mozambique he was saying some pretty hefty things, but today he seems a very organized individual." Class struggle will do that to you.

## Charity case

Perhaps opening the workplace to a new breed of charity drives, a U.S. district court ruled July 1 that the federal government illegally discriminated against the National Black United Fund (NBUF) in favor of the United Way—a violation of NBUF's free-speech rights. Judge Barrington Parker told the government to make its on-the-job Combined Federal Campaign "accessible to all on an equal basis."

This ruling on a four-year-old suit was the biggest legal blow yet to the United Way, which reaps three-quarters of the Campaign's \$90 million annual proceeds (see *In These Times*, Oct. 24, 1979). Whereas the NBUF focuses on programs "designed to combat prejudice and discrimination," the judge ruled, the United Way's emphasis is on "old-line organizations and programs which, although of unquestionable merit and worth, fail to address the basic and central economic and social problems ever present in a minority community."

## Overreactors

The Dresden nuclear power plant near Chicago—last in the news when its "disaster hot line" broke down during a June 19 accident drill—may have other defects.

The NRC has ordered tests and shutdowns for Dresden and 22 other plants in 14 states, because they may be incapable of shutting down. All 22 plants depend on the same type of control-rod system that recently caused a "mysterious malfunction" at the Browns Ferry plant in Alabama, according to the *Chicago Sun-Times*. While preparing for a routine maintenance shutdown, operators at Browns Ferry had trouble dousing the fission reaction because some of the control rods refused to seat properly—a potentially disastrous delay during an accident.

## With God on their side

Episcopalian minister Dr. G. William Pollard is out with a new book entitled *Let's Talk about Theology and Nuclear Energy*, according to a New York state paper called *New Times Weekly*. Dr. Pollard writes that a believer in the Bible cannot reject nuclear energy, which fueled the Creation itself. Noting that our sun and all the other stars run on nuclear power, he concludes that a universe "from which nuclear power has been outlawed would be a dead universe."

A fellow of the American Nuclear Society, Pollard was commissioned to write his good words by the Breeder Reactor Co. of Oakridge, Tenn.

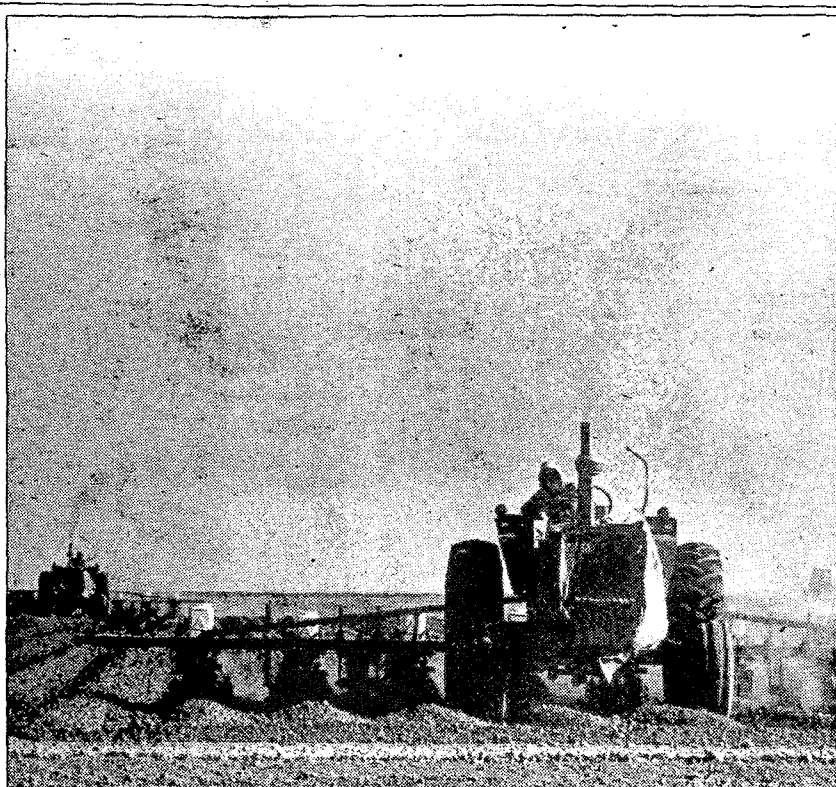
## National Tenants Union

Tenants' activists from 50 cities in 25 states recently held a conference at Cleveland's Case Western Reserve University. After three days of "how-to" workshops (such as "how to win in housing court"), the conferees formed a new national lobbying organization, the National Tenants Union. Coming on the heels of several local rent-control victories—particularly the June 10 defeat in California of the landlords' Proposition 13—the success of the conference rings a hopeful note for a growing movement.

## Rumor

There's been mention of a new group being formed by mothers with draft-age children. (Why not fathers too?) Members would insist on being registered along with their offspring, asking the government, "Why are you just picking on 19- and 20-year-olds? We want to go too."

—Josh Kornbluth



## And now, free water for the richest families

In the last days of its 1979-80 season, the Supreme Court made some farmland owners very happy. It upheld, in a unanimous opinion, the right of farmers in California's Imperial Valley to ignore a 1902 federal reclamation act that limits to 160 acres the size of farms eligible to receive water from federal irrigation projects.

The ruling—which reversed an appellate court decision—was the most recent of a long line of setbacks for champions of the 160-acre limit, which has been bullied to death in this era of up-to-150,000-acre farms. Even though the majority of farms in Imperial Valley are much smaller than that, the clout, and the momentum, are with the giants.

Imperial Valley is a hot, dry desert bordering Mexico. Although the soil is rich, farming would be impossible without irrigation. In 1928 the Boulder Canyon Act authorized a project to bring water to the area. The Imperial Irrigation District (IID), representing the valley's landowners, successfully lobbied for the construction of the All-American Canal, which carried water from the Colorado River—rerouted by the Hoover Dam—to the Imperial and neighboring Coachella valleys.

With irrigation, Imperial landowners were able to greatly increase the value of their farms. The only problem was this 160-acre limit, which made the owners of the larger farms ineligible for free access to the water. In 1933, during the waning weeks of President Hoover's administration, the IID got an assistant secretary in the Department of the Interior named Northcutt Ely to write a letter of "exemption" to the acreage-limitation rule. Ely, who two weeks later began a new career representing the IID, neglected to consult with any lawyers at Interior on the matter.

It was only in 1963 that Department of the Interior solicitor Frank Barry—responding to pressure from a barnstorming Imperial Valley doctor named Ben Yellen—ruled that Ely's 1933 letter was "clearly wrong," and that the lands of the Imperial Valley are subject to the 160-acre rule. This began the long legal wrangle that just culminated in the Supreme Court's ruling against Yellen.

The justices said that all Imperial

Valley lands irrigated before the 1928 act were exempt from the acreage limitation—so they still can make use of the federally-funded canal. As a group called National Land for People (NLP) points out, this amounts to a taxpayers' subsidy for the owners of giant farms.

But the Court's opinion was vague enough to open up the possibility that all lands *not* cultivated before 1928—which adds up to 350,000 acres in Imperial and Coachella, according to Yellen—are still subject to the 160-acre restriction. Yellen and NLP are now checking on irrigation histories.

The fight to hold down the size of farms in southern California may well be a quixotic one. Never in the 78-year history of the reclamation act has it been strictly enforced. Many farms have grown in size and complexity to the point where they resemble other big business organizations, according to a recent study. A congressional bill, HR6520, that would exempt 1.5 million acres of rich federally irrigated land from the acreage limitation was passed June 19 by the full House Interior Committee. "The people who were skeptical in 1902," says NLP's Maia Sortor, "were right."

—Josh Kornbluth

## Steelworkers rally for jobs

"We don't want to wait until our plant is closed permanently like many other steel mills," Alice Peurala, president of the 8,000-member United Steelworkers Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works mill in Chicago, told 500 laid-off steelworkers and their supporters gathered at the Dirksen Federal Building on July 8.

Although South Works was officially closed for only two weeks at the end of June, Peurala says, "we discovered that U.S. Steel did not expect to have enough orders to reopen the entire plant until next spring. This could mean a nine-month layoff for thousands of our members. Some have been laid off for more than six months."

Massive layoffs have now begun to hit the steel industry in the wake of the drastic decline in auto pro-

duction, and many observers expect a further permanent shrinking of the industry.

"If U.S. Steel doesn't want to make steel, then the U.S. government should look into taking over the mills," Local 65 trustee Roberta Wood said at the rally. Ken Massengill, legislative director of District 31 in Illinois and Indiana, added, "If we're going to subsidize the corporation with tax money, then either we should take them over as community projects or tie subsidies to jobs."

Workers from other rank-and-file committees to save jobs at the abruptly shut down Wisconsin Steel mill (*In These Times*, May 7) and at the threatened Hammond, Ind., and Chicago plants of the Pullman corporation joined in the demonstration, along with other labor union representatives.

Gus Savage, a black independent Democrat who won an upset primary nomination for Congress from Illinois' second district (*In These Times*, April 9), told the rally, "There's an old labor song: 'Which side are you on?' It's about time that organized labor finds out which side publicly elected officials are on—especially black officials. Black officials should be the first to join organized labor in the fight to save the country."

—Dan La Botz

## PBS' private enterprise

In our June 4 issue we reported on the trend toward ads, commercials and for-profit enterprises off public TV. Now two recent developments suggest the selling of public TV is a growth industry.

At the June annual conference of PBS station representatives in Washington, D.C., PBS execs pushed hard for stations to adopt what president Larry Grossman called "enterprising new marketing initiatives." He stressed the chancy nature of government funding in recession years.

PBS station reps heard a variety of suggestions for making money off a public station, in order to boost the station's budget. One of the favorites was to retail PBS programs on cable and on videocassettes and discs. Other suggestions included the sale of satellite transmission time to private buyers, since the equipment allows for more use than PBS stations need at this time.

Meanwhile, the Carnegie Commission's second report, issued in May, also pushed the private-profit hustle hard. It suggested the formation of a separate, nonprofit payable TV network called Pace. Programming would stress "high culture" performing arts, an alternative to the mostly movie fare of cable now. Pace's successes could then subsidize public programs.

These proposals have the advantage of generating funds to support an alternative to network TV and cable. But whose alternative, and how much of one? The private-profit hustle makes public accountability even more difficult than it is now.

One PBS board member, an ad executive, was quoted in *Advertising Age* on cable and cassette retailing: "Why shouldn't public TV fare be just as available as commercial programming?" We may also have to ask, "What's the difference between the two?"

—Pat Aufderheide



# IN THE NATION

## THE DRAFT



A Vietnam-era lawsuit challenging the all-male draft has been revived to block Carter's revival or registration.

Lionel Deavingne

# Equal rights may scuttle registration

By Josh Kornbluth

**D**RAFT REGISTRATION IS COMING back, but a nine-year-old class action lawsuit may stop it dead in its tracks. On July 1—the day before President Carter signed his registration proclamation—a three-judge court was convened in Philadelphia to consider *Goldberg v. Tarr*, which challenges the Military Selective Service Act as sexually discriminatory. The Act allows the president—at his discretion—to order the registration of all men 18 to 26 years old.

*Goldberg v. Tarr* was first filed on June 16, 1971, on behalf of four young men who argued that an all-male draft was unconstitutional. The suit was dismissed at one point, but Donald Weinberg, the lawyer for the plaintiffs, won a reversal in the Court of Appeals. Then in 1972 the Vietnam war ended, and in 1975 President Gerald Ford removed the registration requirement. *Goldberg v. Tarr* went nowhere until Carter revived the registration issue this year.

After the Philadelphia court refused to let the American Civil Liberties Union intervene in *Goldberg v. Tarr*, the ACLU helped Weinberg secure new draft-age plaintiffs while it jumped into federal district court with its own—almost identical—suit.

Weinberg hopes for a favorable ruling from the three-judge panel in time to prevent the reopening of registration on July 21. The suit would then, in the fall, move on to the Supreme Court—which is likely to agree with the plaintiffs, according to Jay A. Miller of the ACLU's Illinois division. "We think the court is going to find it very difficult" to rule against a suit like *Goldberg v. Tarr*, he said, "after about 10 years of ruling in favor of equality between the sexes."

If he's right, and the all-male registration is ruled unconstitutional, the Court is likely to send the matter back to Congress.

And that's where the fun begins. Congress—which rebuffed Carter in his initial attempt to transfer the funds necessary to register women along with men—would have to decide either to include women after all or to hold off on registration altogether.

In that situation, opponents of registration are hoping, the legislators' sexual biases will override their hawkish instincts. Those in Congress who most strongly favor peace-time registration "are basically southerners who will never let women go to war," according to Representative Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.).

The success of *Goldberg v. Tarr* as a tactic to end draft registration depends on several ifs. If the courts do tell Congress to either cancel registration or change the wording of the Act from "males" to "persons," and if the lawmakers cannot bear the notion of sending their daughters to the front, the suit will have done its job. But what if Congress goes the other way and institutes an equal-opportunity registration?

"Then we'd be in a stronger position," Gloria Steinem told *In These Times*.

"There will be twice as many people to resist."

Others, however, fear that the lawsuit might have a detrimental effect on the peace movement. "I don't think there's been a very enthusiastic reception from anti-registration activists," Jack Colhoun of the National Anti-Draft Teaching Project said of the suit. "I think it's potentially very divisive. It diverts attention away from registration. It makes it really difficult to build an anti-draft movement when parts of the movement are pushing for the inclusion of women in the draft."

"It's very important for the left to take a clear stand against the registration of women," concurred Jane Midgley of the Washington Peace Center. The problem hinges more on the timing of the suit than on the validity of its claim that men and women should get the same treatment.

"I feel they are moving toward including women in the draft anyway," Midgley said. "The case just makes it a little harder for unity among us."

Steinem disagrees with that view. "I don't see why it's divisive," she said. "I'm certainly against a peace-time draft and registration. But women ought to have the right to decide for themselves whether to register or not. One can and should oppose both the draft and a discriminatory draft."

According to Steinem, conservative leaders are opposed to admitting too many "troublemakers" into the armed forces. "Their bias against women," she said, "is like their bias against minorities. If you look at the history of the NAACP on the draft, it was the same."

Right now, she added, "we have the worst of both worlds—the Cold War and discrimination."

## Marchers for Gay Pride

On a June night in 1969, New York City police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village. The patrons surprised the cops by fighting back and the neighborhood erupted for several nights.

Each June since 1969 the Stonewall Riot has been celebrated with demonstrations and marches nationwide, the biggest ones in San Francisco and New York. Political splits among this year's march organizers in New York City resulted in two distinct planning committees. Nevertheless, at its peak the march was roughly 70,000 strong.

As usual, diversity was evident—a diversity that has been a source of both strength and struggle within the lesbian and gay liberation movement. Dentists and lawyers marched alongside hustlers and drag queens. A parade band played disco tunes while others chanted, "Koch and Carter, go to hell! We all say it's right to rebel!" There was a lesbian-feminist contingent, and there was a group promoting The Advocate Experience (a gay version of est). Gay Catholics stood on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, while the Gay Atheists League held signs saying, "Religion is the problem, not the solution."

Lesbian and gay socialists from the Lavender Left Network marched under banners that linked gay issues to other struggles for civil and economic rights. At its first regional convention in May, the Network passed a resolution in support of the Miami uprising, drawing a connection between the outraged response to an all-white jury's condoning police violence against a black man and the demonstrations provoked by an all-straight jury in San Francisco going very easy on the murderer of gay activist Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone.

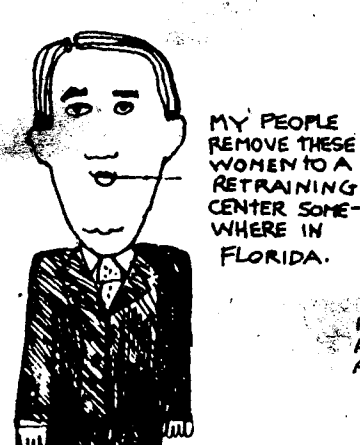
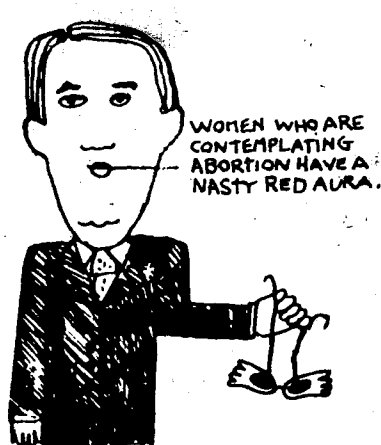
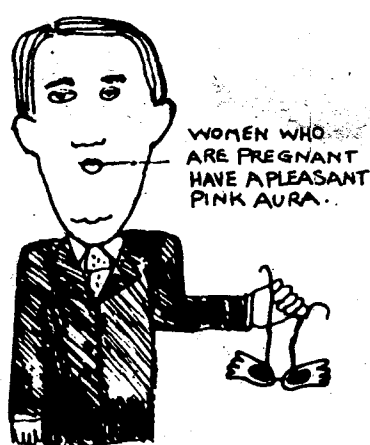
—Scott Tucker

Kate Ellis reports on her personal reactions to the march. Page 20.



Jane Melnick



Reprinted from Nicole Hollander, *Ma, Can I Be a Feminist and Still Like Men?* (St. Martin's, \$3.95) by special arrangement with St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010.

HOMOSEXUALS ALSO HAVE AN AURA.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

# Poor must pay for the right to choose

By Joanna Foley

NEW YORK

**T**WO WEEKS AGO WOMEN WERE still reeling from an ERA legislative setback when they also received a sharp judicial blow from the body politic. The Supreme Court ruled in *Harris v. McRae* that the federal government can now refuse to fund medically necessary abortions for poor women.

Pro-choice groups called the decision a "disaster." The Reproductive Rights National Network (R2N2) said, "The constitutionally protected right to abortion will cease to be a reality for 2.6 Medicaid-eligible women in this country."

Several observers suspect that the court reached its unfortunate decision because this case involved the abortion rights of the poor. "Historically, the court has

been very insensitive to the needs of poor women," said Judy Levin, an ACLU attorney on the case. Others wonder if the court was influenced by the rising strength of the right wing.

"What the court totally ignored," according to attorney Sylvia A. Law, "was the factual record in this case." Law, a professor at NYU law school, added, "We expected to win. It was a strong legal case and a lower court had overturned the Hyde Amendment as unconstitutional."

The Hyde Amendment was first passed by Congress in 1976. It cut off most Medicaid funds for abortion. Soon thereafter, New York's Center for Constitutional Rights initiated *McRae* as a class-action lawsuit. The ACLU and Planned Parenthood also joined the case. The key question raised by the suit was whether the federal government could refuse to fund medically necessary abortions while paying for all other medically necessary

services for the poor, including childbirth.

But only four justices saw the case in this light. Writing the minority opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens said that Medicaid was created to serve all individuals who show "financial need and medical need."

But five other justices decided the Hyde Amendment was not unconstitutional. Writing for the majority, Justice Potter Stewart said that the government had no obligation to make medically necessary abortions accessible to the poor.

Although dismayed over the outcome, the *McRae* attorneys are not defeated. They will petition the Supreme Court for a rehearing. "We have nothing to lose, so it's worth a try," said Levin. "We should get an answer by the end of August."

## The next political battle.

The day after the court's decision, a 25-year-old New York woman woke up wondering how her planned abortion would be paid for. "What if they don't accept my Medicaid card?" she asked. Like many others, she was uncertain about when the new decision would take effect.

The actual cut-off of federal funds won't take place until August or early September. Even then, a New Yorker can still get a Medicaid abortion—New York is one of only eight states where abortions for the poor are voluntarily funded by state government. Other states in this group include Maryland, Washington and Michigan.

But the effects of *McRae* will be more acutely felt in 13 other states that were compelled by federal court order to cover

the cost of Medicaid abortions. Now these states are free to stop paying if they choose.

Whether these states will suspend funding, and whether other states will stop voluntary payments, is the next big issue for pro-choice activists. "The battle will now shift from the courts to the legislatures," says National Abortion Rights Action League spokesperson Janet Beals. "Rightwingers feel they've won a victory with this case. Now they are going to try to stop all state funding for Medicaid abortions."

Pro-choice activists are already gearing up for the coming political battles. R2N2 held demonstrations in a dozen major cities around the country on July 10.

Joanna Foley writes regularly for *In These Times* from New York.

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## An Information Hotline

"News stories about the *McRae* decision will convince many poor women that they can no longer get abortions," says Judy Levin. "But the situation isn't hopeless. Some clinics will reduce their fees, other agencies can give loans. Any woman who needs an abortion should keep trying."

The National Abortion Federation is a group of 176 private clinics that offer some help to poor women. They operate a toll-free national hotline with information about where to find reduced fees or loans. The number to call is 800-223-0618.

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## HEALTH HAZARDS

# The present danger in toxic cargo on U.S. rails and roads

By Debbie Goldman  
and Jerome Rubin

SOMERVILLE, MASS.

**I**N APRIL A TRAIN IN THE BOSTON and Maine railroad yard here rammed into a tank car filled with the phosphorous tri-chloride. The toxic chemical spewed out to form a cloud that hovered over this densely populated Boston suburb. By the end of the day, 13,000 people had been evacuated and 200 treated at local hospitals. Since then, the near-bankrupt city has spent over \$1.25 million to clean up the spill.

As yet, no one officially has been faulted for the accident. So it's been left to a city that already faced a \$3.4 million annual deficit to pay for the public costs, and for private citizens to pay their own property and health expenses. Though local and state health officials minimize the long-term health dangers, no one knows for sure. A month after the accident, at least 55 people exposed to the

chemical still had abnormal liver functions.

The Somerville spill, which was covered by national TV, brought to public attention a growing public hazard—the transportation of toxic materials by rail and truck. In 1977, for example, there were 14,250 accidents involving trucks carrying dangerous materials that resulted in 30 deaths and 508 injuries. This represented a 30 percent increase in just two years. Accidents by rail—some 899 in 1977—also have increased by nearly 30 percent in that time.

In some ways, Somerville was "lucky"—no one died. One element of that luck was the fact that the tank car didn't contain a more dangerous material such as liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) or liquefied natural gas (LNG). These gasses put into liquid form for transportation are highly explosive. For example, when a tank car carrying LPG exploded near Waverly, Tenn., in February 1978, 15 people were killed and the entire downtown section of the city was destroyed.

All together, the U.S. Secretary of

Many of the 60,000 trucks on the road each day carrying toxic materials move through densely populated areas.

Transportation has identified 1,600 substances as "hazardous." These include materials used in many so-called essential processes. The phosphorous tri-chloride in the Somerville spill was going to be used in sewage treatment. The list also includes vinyl chloride, ammonium nitrate, phosphoric acid and other toxic chemicals.

It's only when accidents and disasters have occurred that state and federal officials have been propelled into action, though the potential for such disasters looms over nearly every city in the country. Every day there are over 60,000 trucks on the roads carrying hazardous materials and it is estimated that 1.0 to 2.5 million carloads of hazardous materials are shipped every year by rail. Many of those trucks and tank cars move through densely populated areas.

## One step forward.

In 1974, the federal government passed the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act to regulate the handling, maintenance and inspection of hazardous materials by rail and truck. The Act was a step in the right direction, but its implementation has been rife with problems.

Several agencies—principally the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety (BMCS) for trucks and the Federal Railway Administration (FRA) for trains—overlap in responsibility for enforcing the complex Act. And both agencies are seriously understaffed. For example, the BMCS, with only nine full-time hazardous materials inspectors, is able to monitor less than 1 percent of interstate trucks each year. The FRA has only 16 full-time hazardous materials inspectors for the entire country.

Inadequate inspection and enforcement can have serious consequences. An intensive investigation of interstate trucks in Pennsylvania in August 1978 by the BMCS found 26 percent of those

*Continued on page 8.*

# New Yorkers say the trucks won't roll



By David Singer

NEW YORK

**F**ROM 9:30 IN THE MORNING TO 11 at night over 700 people listened carefully at the Department of Transportation hearing on Friday, June 13. Only 116 were able to speak out against lifting the ban that currently protects the people of New York City (and all other densely populated cities) from the transportation of high-level radioactive waste through city streets.

When the hearing began at Police Headquarters Auditorium, the representative of the DOT asked angrily, "Who are all these people? What are they doing here?" By not publicizing the hearings the DOT had expected only a handful of people. But throughout the long day, the crowd remained large, angry and verbal.

If they lift the ban enacted by the New York City Department of Health, an unmarked truck carrying high-level radiation waste, consisting of spent fuel rods from Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island, will enter New York City via Queens, cross the 59th Street Bridge, travel north on Third Avenue and then on Amsterdam Avenue and over the George Washington Bridge. In the beginning, at least one shipment will be made each week, and later, when the new Shoreham plant opens, there will be up to five shipments every week.

Even if no accident occurs, New Yorkers will repeatedly be exposed to radiation at a rate of several millirems per hour—hundreds of times above the normal background radiation. Any person who happens to be within 12 feet of these unmarked trucks as they pass through the streets or stop for a light can

receive gamma rays at the rate of 25 rads per second (5 rads is the annual allowed dose for a radiation worker), according to hearing testimony by scientist Dr. Daniel Pisello. (The spent fuel from Brookhaven contains highly enriched bomb-grade uranium.)

According to the testimony of James Haughton, director of Fight Back, a community organization in Harlem, in the event of an accident a single spent fuel assembly could yield a lethal dose of 600 rems to anyone within three miles of the accident. Immediate deaths would be in the thousands, and since radioactive isotopes released from spent fuel are long-lived, the consequences would affect generations to come.

The Department of Transportation claims that the probability of an accident is infinitesimal, but, as witnesses testified, even a single accident would destroy the city. The DOT claims that the carriers have a perfect record. Their official records show differently. Accidents have already occurred with radiation spills. And anyone who lives in New York has seen truck accidents occur and knows that the condition of our potholed streets is not reassuring.

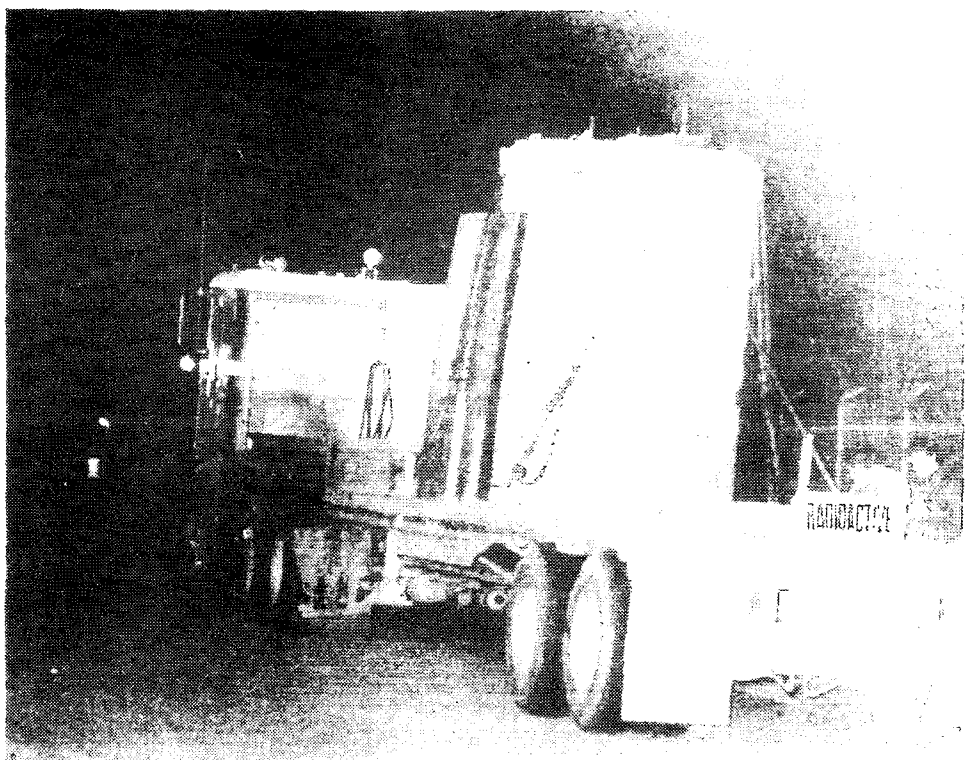
In 1977, New York City, prompted by Dr. Leonard Solon, director of the New York City Bureau of Radiation Control, was the first municipality to ban nuclear waste transport through its streets except for medical use or in case of national emergency. Less than two months after the ban was instituted, Associated Universities Incorporated, a group of nine universities that serve as Brookhaven's board of directors, asked the DOT to override the city health code ban. The DOT upheld the code.

But now, the nuclear industry, including Long Island Lighting Company (which is building one reactor and planning two more), as well as Associated Universities Inc. (which represents Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Pennsylvania, MIT, Johns Hopkins and Rochester) have pressured DOT to preempt all such local health code regulations.

The Department of Transportation originally scheduled hearings in only five cities, not including New York. Only pressure from Dr. Solon, New York Representative Ted Weiss, and city councilwoman Carol Greitzer led DOT to hold a single hearing here—a hearing that was given no publicity. As word leaked out,

the DOT tried to discourage testimony by telling people who called in advance that they could not present their testimony. Despite this false information, hundreds of enraged residents, politicians, scientists and representatives of anti-nuclear groups came early and stayed into the night.

Mayor Koch opened the testimony by putting on record his objections to lifting the ban. He was followed by a representative for congressman Weiss and over 100 other speakers. The participants were mainly in their thirties and forties—professionals, politicians, and residents of the city. Testimony was noticeably well-informed and factual. As Joan Harvey, artistic director of the Fourth Wall Repertory Theater put it: "We know these dangers, therefore you know them." The four representatives of DOT remained impassive and silent throughout the hearing.



Speakers with widely different viewpoints testified against the rule change—representatives of the East Side Republican Club, the Village Independent Democrats, and the Bergen County Citizens Party. The Sierra Club's Radioactive Waste Campaign sent three representatives, and Dr. Ira Helfand spoke for Physicians for Social Responsibility and also for Victor Sidel of the 1,000-member Physicians Forum. Rosalie Hoftie, a

black woman representing 2,000 residents of General Grant Housing, said that she also represented the Parents Association of P.S. 125 and its 8,300 children. She received a standing ovation.

As testimony continued into the night, there was an urgent and growing determination on the part of the audience to resist this danger to the lives of their families, their neighbors and themselves. People were angry, scientists were emotional. One witness approached each of the three presiding DOT panelists shouting "NO!" into their faces—it was instantly taken up as a chant by the crowd in the auditorium. The mood of resistance communicated itself to the members of the DOT, who nervously arranged for additional police protection for the evening session. The audience demanded additional hearings and vowed to stop the resumption of this lethal transport through the streets of the city.

Shortly after the hearing, a petition drive on the streets of New York collected 24,000 signatures in just five days against lifting the ban. Those petitions were hand delivered to DOT headquarters in Washington on June 30.

David Singer, Ph.D., is a consulting psychologist at Leake and Watts children's home and St. Barnabas House, two resident facilities for adolescents in the New York area.



# Hazards

Continued from page 7.

carrying hazardous materials were in "immediately dangerous" mechanical condition. A similar investigation in Massachusetts found 20 percent of the trucks carrying such materials had serious mechanical defects.

The dangers from poor rail regulation increase each year as the financial condition of the industry worsens. Sagging freight revenues and persistent financial woes have led the rail industry to neglect the maintenance of equipment, track and bedrods. Though industry spokespeople claim that transportation by rail is safer than by truck (90 percent of the hazardous materials accidents are on the roads), failure to maintain equipment and growing tendency to overload deteriorating track and equipment may change that. Rail accidents create disasters of

far greater proportions than do roadway spills because of the tremendous volume of material involved. There was a doubling of derailments nationwide between 1966 and 1976, and since then the number has increased by over 20 percent annually.

Federal agencies had hoped that states would complement their work in regulating hazardous materials transportation. But if Massachusetts is typical, this approach has its problems. The state has adopted the federal regulations only for highway transport and its inspection staff is small and poorly trained. Rail regulation is handled by the state Department of Public Utilities, which is understaffed and not properly trained to deal with hazardous materials.

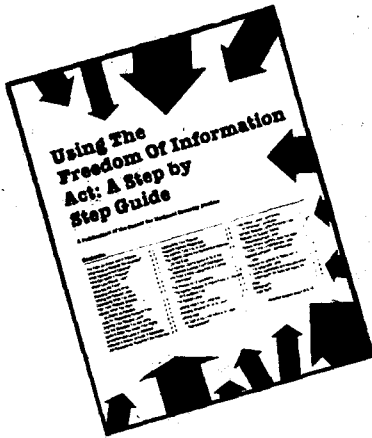
Federal and state authorities have, by and large, adopted a "wait and see" attitude towards hazardous materials transportation. Enactment of the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act by every state would be a useful minimum step.

But unless both federal and state authorities improve their training programs and substantially increase the number of inspectors for rail and roads, we face the possibility of a major disaster in the near future.

Some local city governments, frustrated by the inaction of state and federal authorities, have initiated their own ordinances banning the transportation of hazardous materials through their city streets. One such ordinance in Boston, which calls for a near-total ban of hazardous material traffic through the city, is being challenged before the Department of Transportation by the state trucking association. Another approach being considered by some city and state governments is to require additional insurance for all carriers of hazardous materials.

Debbie Goldman writes for the *Somerville Community News*. Jerome Rubin is a researcher for *Massachusetts Fair Share*.

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## Planning

Continued from page 3.

ment" the primary goal. Using a broad "balance sheet" of costs and benefits, such an industrial policy could strengthen weakened industries while systematically developing new alternatives that not only provide the basis for growth and international competition but also promote such goals as energy indepen-

dence (through solar technology or rehabilitating the railroads).

Likewise, Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner has made reindustrialization issues central to his campaign, proposing, for example, a Public-Autoworkers Corporation for Transportation that would reopen closed auto plants to provide employment and community stability, to build better small, efficient and safe cars and to convert in some cases to production of mass transportation or energy-conserving cogeneration units.

Faux, Alperovitz, Commoner and others on the left emphasize not only the need for thorough planning, for goals different from reindustrializers on the right and for a thoroughly democratic planning process but also for greater public investment and worker control. "The corporations are in retreat," Commoner told a group of autoworkers, "and want public money to save themselves. I say, 'Let's put the workers and community in control as part of that.'"

The more sophisticated capitalists realize that what they need is a Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the '80s, but the current crop of candidates and political parties is unable to produce a figure who can take the next step in social democracy, rallying the broad public behind a program to save the corporations while fending off the most reactionary business interests. At this point, there is no strong socialist presence to engage the debate and pose the needed alternatives of full employment, centralized planning and community control, public and worker ownership, and reorientation of the economy to producing efficiently what it really needs in capital goods, consumer commodities and the elusive quality of life goods—health, safety, happiness, education and livable communities. Reindustrialization in one form or another may be a hot word in Washington now, but it will not fade as an issue even if an FDR does not arrive and even if socialism remains far, far away.

## Decisions, Decisions. What can I do about Draft Registration?

Once more the youth of our nation are faced with agonizing choices:

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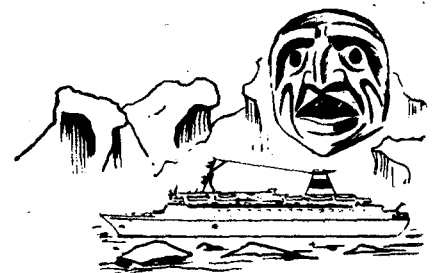
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## Travel By Helen

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By Fred Halliday

**I**N CONVERSATION RECENTLY WITH a member of the right-wing anti-Khomeini exile community, I asked him whether he *thought* these forces could overthrow the Islamic regime in Iran. "For us, there is now only one question," he said. "Whether, when the right moment comes, the Iraqis will back us to the hilt, or not." Confident of the growing discontent in Iran, and of the disordered condition of the regime's armed forces, these exiles are hoping that at some point in the next few months—and at most within a year or two—they can overthrow the Imam's revolutionary government.

There is no doubt that the right-wing Iranian community has, since mid-May, been gripped by a new sense of determination. A congress of all opposition forces—including former generals and exiled politicians such as Shahpur Bakhtiar—was held in Paris. That group left their aims open, stressing that the Iranian people should freely choose their own form of government; some of them talk, without much conviction, of leaving the door open to the left-wing forces inside Iran who may in the future find themselves fighting the clerical right.

The most prominent among these military men is General Gholam Ali Oveissi. Contrary to newspaper reports, Oveissi is not particularly close to the Shah; he was known in the old days as a remote, quiet officer—"the only leading general who never drank or played bridge." Another general, Palizban, is reputed to be stationed in Iraq and to be trying to foment trouble in Kurdistan.

Among the exiled politicians who have been associated with these discussions are Hassan Nazih, a National Front politician who was minister of oil under Khomeini until he opposed the clerics' grip on the regime, Ahmad Bani Ahmad, a deputy in the last majlis or parliament under the Shah who began to support the opposition as it gathered force, and Moghadam-Maraghei, another National Front politician who was one of the very few non-clerical candidates elected to Iran's constitutional assembly last August. All three are Azerbaijanis—a factor that may indicate a greater level of anti-Khomeini sentiment in this part of the country.

The Iraqis have made it a condition of their support that the different groups unite, and it would seem that the exiled Shah has little role in this loose coalition: apart from his illness—and the rivalry between Iraq and Egypt—the Shah is not an attractive ally for any of these exiles. His old legman, former ambassador to the U.S. Ardeshir Zahedi, is apparently lying low at the moment, and the main royalist advocate is Hushang Nahavandi, an academic and social affairs expert who puts forward a liberal royalist line (believed to be derived from the Shah's wife) from his base in Paris.

The most obvious signs of anti-Khomeini activity are the radio stations that have sprung up in various parts of the Middle East. The "Free Voice of Iran," which started broadcasting on May 29, calls for armed struggle against Khomeini and speaks for some self-professed "liberation forces." Another station, "Radio Iran," began on June 20 and is believed to be the mouthpiece of exiled leader Shahpur Bakhtiar. While both of these are based in Iraq, yet a third broadcasts from Egypt: this one is more royalist in tone and is reliably held to be assisted by the CIA. Brzezinski's retort that such claims are "irresponsible and misleading" is hardly a convincing denial: his choice of "irresponsible" as the first term tells its own tale, and one can still wonder who is being misled.

This flurry of exile activity is not going to make much of a dent on Khomeini's forces and so far there is no evidence of any widespread and organized resistance inside Iran with links to these outside forces. The key question remains the state of the Iranian military, since the most likely scenario is a push from the outside, assisted by Iraq (which has a long land frontier with Iran) and combined with mutinies and military insurrections from within.

Iran's military forces were decapitated and demoralized by the revolution. But

they have not disappeared and have not been tranquil since then. In a recent statement, President Bani-Sadr declared that within the previous four months six conspiracies had been uncovered in the armed forces. There have been executions of mutinous air force personnel in Isfahan, and on June 21 it was announced that at least 27 military men had been arrested for plotting against the government.

The really difficult problem facing Bani-Sadr is that he has no personnel of his own with which to control the army. The man he has appointed as the new chief of staff is General Valiollah Falahi, who was arrested last year on charges of being a counter-revolutionary. Some high-ranking officers accused of plotting have also been given new posts, among them General Hadi Shamehr, the former chief of staff, who is now personal adviser to Bani-Sadr on military matters.

The Islamic Guards, tens of thousands of militants who have played an important part in chasing down the regime's opponents, are an unknown quantity. There have been reports that they are being integrated into the regular army and have received training in the use of tanks and heavier weapons. But the officers are unlikely to welcome this and Khomeini himself has warned of the disunity and racketeering in which some Islamic Guard units have been involved.

Bani-Sadr has charged that the failed U.S. rescue mission was part of a wider attempt to topple his regime. He has produced documents that are said to indicate that units of the Iranian army would

have carried out a coup in collaboration with the American commandos. Bani Sadr, Khomeini and prominent leaders of the Tudeh and other left parties were to be kidnapped or killed.

This sounds plausible enough, though as long as Khomeini is there to act as a symbol and a guide such a right-wing coup attempt would probably fail. But there is no other leader—secular or religious—who can play such a cohesive role, and Khomeini's death or serious illness would greatly weaken the Islamic Republic. Bani-Sadr has claimed, in an uncharacteristic burst of self-assertion, that opinion polls show him to be more popular than the ayatollah: but one may doubt if the bespectacled philosopher-president could put anything like the same fire into the mass of Iranian militants as the stern Khomeini still can.

What must be most worrying to the Iranian government—and heartening to its opponents—is the growing factionalism within the Islamic camp and the left. Both the Fedayin guerrillas and the Kurdish Democratic Party have recently split. The Mojahidin guerrillas, as well as the Fedayin, have been explicitly attacked by Khomeini, who accused them of being collaborators of the old regime. Khomeini's call for an Islamicization of the state apparatus has led to mandatory imposition of the chador or hejab (cloak or headscarf) for all women employees—a measure long expected but till now not enforced and likely to stir further dissent.

Other measures taken by the regime are also likely to store up trouble, while

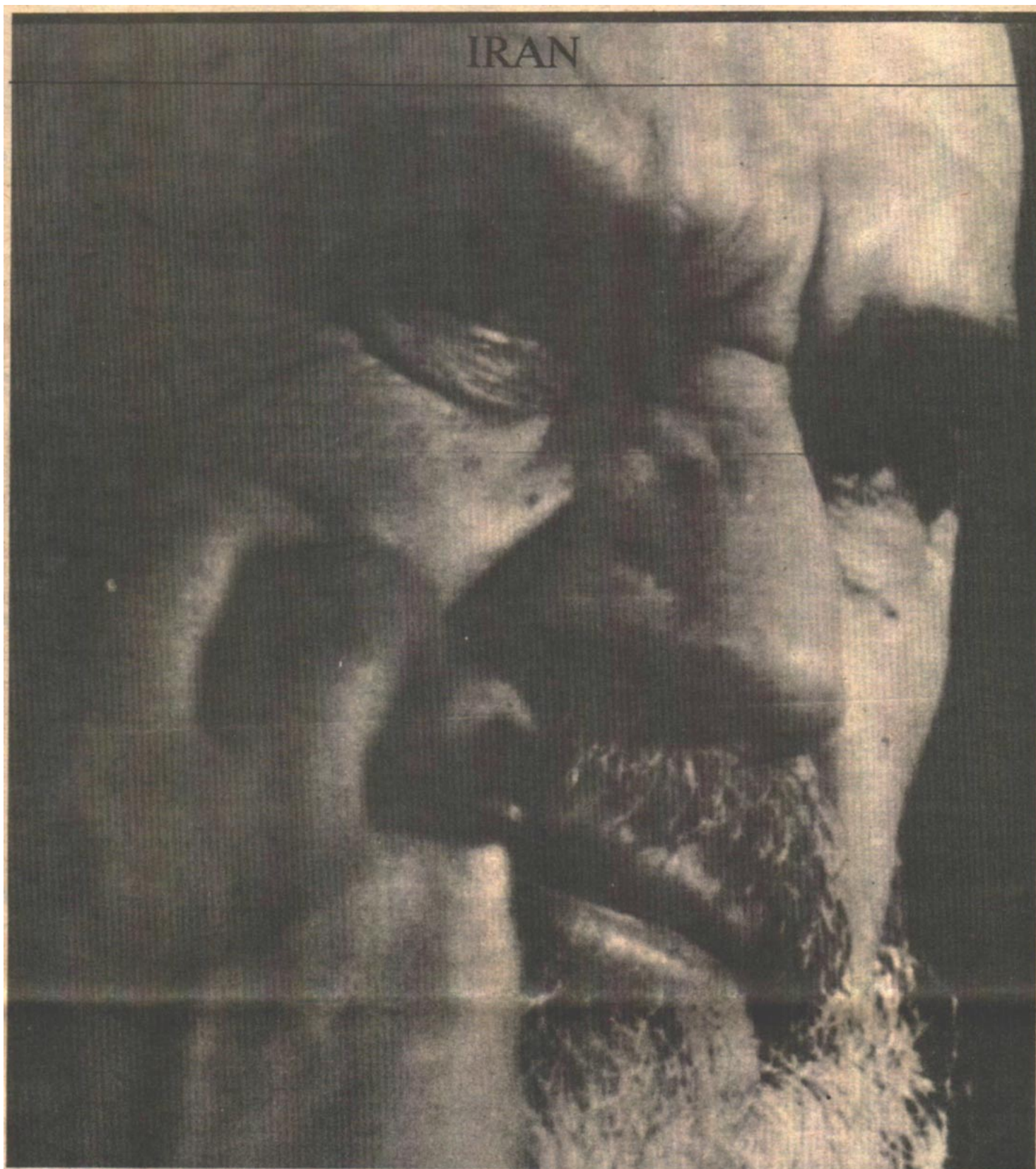
solving very little. Plans have been announced to try Amir Entezam, a vice-premier in the first months of the revolution now accused of (by definition) treasonable contacts with the U.S. embassy. He may be given the death penalty.

Another person in prison is the hereditary chief of the Qashqai tribe of southern Iran, Nasser Khan, who was elected to the Tehran parliament and then seized by Islamic Guards. The Qashqai have made trouble for many an Iranian government in the past and are known to have armed themselves since the Shah fell. Arresting Nasser Khan is a bit like the U.S. president jailing the mayor of Chicago—not enough to bring down the central government, but an unwise thing to do, all the same.

Iran appears to be quite a way from being ripe for a right-wing seizure of power involving the exiled groups; but the internal conditions favoring such a coup—a fractious army, political disunity, unemployment and inflation—are certainly growing and Iraq, in greater or less coordination with the U.S., appears willing to lend a hand at a suitable moment. While Khomeini devotes his speeches to calling for the use of Islamic notepaper on official business, and while the new parliament meanders on about questions of procedure, clouds are gathering on the horizon. The Iranian revolution is still on the march, but time is not on its side.

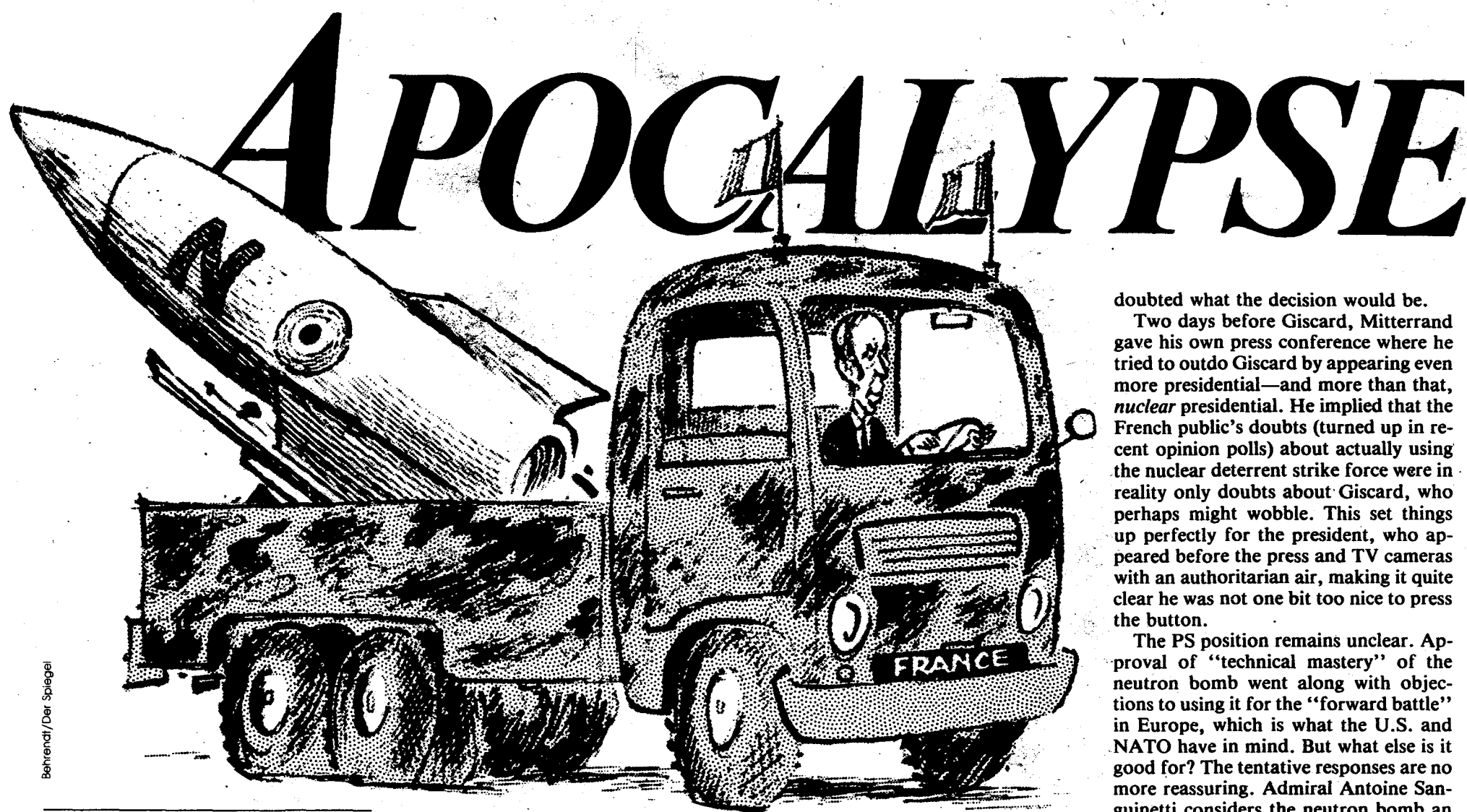
*Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies' Transnational Institute.*

## IN THE WORLD



# Exiles scheme against Imam





Behrendt/Der Spiegel

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**D**ISCLOSURE THAT FRANCE has tested and probably will develop the anti-personnel neutron bomb coincides with a foreign policy shift rightward within the French Socialist Party that weakens opposition to President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's military policy innovations. Both PS first secretary François Mitterrand and his main challenger for next year's presidential nomination, Michel Rocard, are talking as if they would be more consistent defenders of the Atlantic Alliance than Giscard. Foreign policy will probably be the main pretext for a forthcoming reconciliation between Mitterrand and Rocard, who will be brought out of the minority where he was exiled last year for his presidential presumption, and very likely allowed to run against Giscard on condition that Mitterrand's control over the PS is confirmed and tightened. The sacrificial lamb for this ceremony will be the party's left faction, CERES (Center for Socialist Study, Research and Teaching), whose leader Jean-Pierre Chevenement has found himself isolated in his opposition to the neutron bomb.

Mitterrand and Rocard have both already gone on record as favoring changes in PS statutes to limit unfortunate "factionalism"—probably meaning they would both like to hog-tie CERES before throwing it into the minority.

French Communist Party (PCF) boss George Marchais may be able to crow with more credibility than usual about the PS' rightward drift, but he can thank himself for giving it a hefty shove in that direction. His recent pro-Soviet stance has robbed PCF foreign policy statements of any weight and made the position of those who agree with the PCF on some points harder to defend. PCF sectarianism has badly undermined Socialists like Chevenement most attached to left unity and indirectly strengthened Rocard.

Chevenement had asked the PS to come out against the neutron bomb. But at an executive bureau meeting June 25, he settled for an amendment favoring "technical mastery" of the N-bomb in place of Jean-Pierre Cot's original resolution favoring "research and development." This compromise was evidently to keep the doomed PS majority—grouping Mitterrand and CERES, among others—from cracking right then and there. Chevenement found himself alone with his view that the revival of bloc rivalry

## Socialists endorse France's deployment of the neutron bomb as they prepare their bid for the "nuclear presidency."

was a greater threat to French security than Soviet invasion.

The futility of the PS stand was brought out the very next day when Giscard announced that those little tactical nuclear weapons France had been exploding in the South Pacific were indeed N-bombs. The Socialists protested at having been lied to over the past two

years by defense authorities who denied that any such thing was going on, but since they had just agreed to the principle, who really cared? And if Giscard said the decision whether or not to mass produce the new marvel, which so efficiently "cleans" real estate of whatever living creatures are messing it up, could not be taken until 1982 or 1983, no one

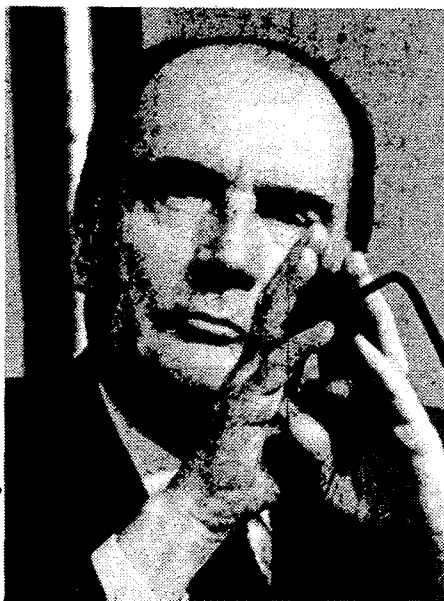
doubted what the decision would be.

Two days before Giscard, Mitterrand gave his own press conference where he tried to outdo Giscard by appearing even more presidential—and more than that, nuclear presidential. He implied that the French public's doubts (turned up in recent opinion polls) about actually using the nuclear deterrent strike force were in reality only doubts about Giscard, who perhaps might wobble. This set things up perfectly for the president, who appeared before the press and TV cameras with an authoritarian air, making it quite clear he was not one bit too nice to press the button.

The PS position remains unclear. Approval of "technical mastery" of the neutron bomb went along with objections to using it for the "forward battle" in Europe, which is what the U.S. and NATO have in mind. But what else is it good for? The tentative responses are no more reassuring. Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti considers the neutron bomb an anti-subversion weapon, and it is a disturbing coincidence that its development has been decided within the framework of a Giscardian defense policy that lays stress on combatting "the enemy within." Chevenement agrees that the neutron bomb "is perhaps also the weapon for punitive expeditions in Africa and the Middle East. It can be used to wipe out pockets of resistance, all the more in that it can certainly be greatly miniaturized."

Is it completely far-fetched to imagine that France—which is now top arms exporter and whose doctrine actually justifies nuclear proliferation as equalizing smaller nations against the superpowers—might eventually mass produce neutron bombs and sell them to client states, like the Latin American military dictatorships, who will be eager to try it out against their own recalcitrant people? ■

## MITTERRAND MAY SIT THIS ONE OUT



François Mitterrand

Judging by what he said at his hyped-up June 24 press conference, François Mitterrand is not going to run for president next year. Instead, he will probably let Michel Rocard have a crack at defeating President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, while he himself retains control of the French Socialist Party (PS).

This is not the way the French press told it. Judging by style rather than content, French reporters assumed that anyone who rents a gilded salon in one of Paris' most expensive hotels to discourse to the media for two hours on affairs of state must be planning to run for president. Maybe, but

what he said, if it meant anything, was an explanation of why he chooses not to run and why he has put off saying so until next fall.

Chiding the media for constantly nagging the PS to choose its candidate, Mitterrand said he had decided the party would not decide until the end of this year, because a candidate, once named, would be target for all sorts of attacks. Alluding perhaps to Georges Marchais' obsessive stream of abuse against his person, Mitterrand hinted he had been acting as a sort of lightning rod to catch all the criticism and spare the eventual candidate.

Mitterrand recalled that he had already made a respectable showing in two presidential elections (45 percent of the vote against De Gaulle in 1965, 49 against Giscard in 1974) and had no desire to play the role of eternal candidate. He also confessed taking seriously the public opinion polls that repeatedly show him losing to Giscard by a much wider margin than in 1974. Although he didn't bother to mention what everybody knows, the polls since late 1978 also persistently show the Socialist leader outdistanced by his challenger Michel Rocard. Mitterrand's acknowledgement that "the polls are authentic" suggests how he may justify withdrawing in favor of Rocard when candidacies for the PS nomination are officially accepted Oct. 19.

While refusing to disclose his own intentions, Mitterrand gave a descrip-

tion of his party's eventual candidate that Rocard could claim as a perfect fit. The PS standard bearer will be "above all, the candidate of freedom, of liberties to preserve and conquer." He will offer "the essential securities," that is, education, jobs, a decent environment, safety for people and property in respect of the law. He will promote "responsibility." These are all favorite Rocard themes.

In foreign policy, too, Mitterrand was sounding very like Rocard. He noted that the world is divided not only North-South and East-West, but also between countries where human rights are respected and regimes of oppression. This third distinction was stressed recently by Michel Rocard, back from a trip to the U.S., as the fundamental justification for the Atlantic alliance with the U.S. despite differences over North-South relations and reluctance to be identified with capitalism.

Mitterrand talked of the need to redefine the Atlantic alliance in tones implying he cared more than Giscard about keeping it in good working order, and on Afghanistan he took a particularly hard line. The PS first secretary objected to any negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning the problem, on the grounds that the US-SR could use its occupation of Afghanistan to bargain for concessions in other areas of strategic interest, notably the Middle East.

—D.J.



# MAINTENANT



Jean-Pierre Chevenement opposes the N-bomb, but few in the Socialist Party agree.

## "ONCE MORE WAR IS THINKABLE"

By Diane Johnstone

*Just before attending the Socialist Party executive bureau meeting that approved the neutron bomb, Jean-Pierre Chevenement explained to IN THESE TIMES why he opposed it.*

First of all, the neutron bomb is nothing new, and I don't think it amounts to such an attractive innovation as its celebrants are claiming. The fact remains that it does mark a step forward in theater arms development, it is *par excellence* a battlefield weapon, and if France mass-produces it, this mere technological commitment will obviously mean a reversal of French military doctrine, which at last word was still based on deterrence. It means the French army will be preparing for the nuclear battle in Europe, incidentally in line with what Giscard d'Estaing announced in 1976 in a speech to the *Institut des Hautes Etudes de la Defense Nationale*. And I am against it essentially for that reason. Because it is not in our interest to wage a nuclear war in Europe, it is not in Europeans' interest. It's quite understandable that the superpowers' strategy is to foresee, organize and prepare ahead of time for a limited war in Europe. But it's not in the interest of the Europeans, or of the French, who have a stake in deterrence working, to avoid a limited war.

Now, the neutron bomb is a weapon that once more makes war thinkable. It is presented as clean, refined, surgical, designed for battlefield operations, just like any ordinary weapon under the command, no longer of the head of state, but of some ordinary captain. Moreover, if France revises its strategic concepts thanks to introduction of the neutron bomb, that means being integrated into the NATO mechanism run by the Americans, and for technical reasons, that is, that the use of this nuclear weapon must be harmonized with other types of arms at the disposal of our allies.

So that means re-integration into NATO and as a result, virtually automatic French participation in any conflict that breaks out in Europe for whatever reason, whether about Europe, or about what happens in the Near East, in Iran, in Vietnam, in China, in South Africa, in the Indian Ocean, don't ask me where. No one can say there may not be a nucle-

ar Sarajevo before the end of the 20th century. And if we find ourselves committed to a nuclear conflagration that we ourselves won't have decided, which may not be in our interests, which won't be our responsibility, well, this at least ought to raise a question.

Being in between two giants is not such an enviable position. That's why you have to understand West Europeans' reluctance to receive American nuclear missiles, the same as East Europeans for that matter, who, according to yesterday's newspapers, are not at all keen to have Soviet SS 22 missiles installed on their territory. In each of the two alliances, the peoples of Europe are sitting in the dead man's seat, to use the automobile expression. The passenger in the dead man's seat is always a little nervous, like my wife next to me when I drive too fast.

Yesterday, *LE MATIN* reported that "a good number of Socialist Party leaders both in the majority and the minority, are more and more convinced of the likelihood of a limited tactical nuclear war in one point or another of the planet." Francois Mitterrand said he thought the PS was ready to agree to the nuclear bomb, but not for the forward battle in Europe. All that seems to mean using it elsewhere than in Europe.

Where then? The Middle East...

For example. Or the Gulf...

That's a disturbing conception of relations with the Third World. I gather it boils down to policing the oil producing countries.

This is what I find implied in what I hear and what I read. If it isn't for the forward battle, then it's for another battle. I have an impression that U.S. planners might like to involve their allies in what they consider their policing job. For example, there is talk of mixing the Italian navy in patrols of the Indian Ocean. There could be use of the Italian navy and...

...and the French air force. I see. With neutron bombs.

To keep Europe enjoying a position of ambivalence towards the Third World.

I have my doubts about the United States would be so decentralized the job among its allies. I'm convinced the U.S. will keep the military power to itself, because in

the final analysis that's what ensures their economic and financial predominance. They may ask their allies to provide ships, for example, or an infrastructure...but entrust their European allies with serious tasks? I think they are very distrustful of their European allies.

*And vice versa. Europe distrusts the U.S.* Well certainly, because there are important unsettled differences between them, concerning oil supplies, oil prices, petrodollars and how to recycle them, monetary problems...there is the problem of access to the Soviet market, the question of a world strategy of tension, of detente, of missiles. It all adds up to a lot of unsettled business. And so far, not a single voice has been heard, whether in the U.S. or in Europe, to propose positive solutions—I mean that would deal with the recycling of petrodollars, for a starter. We've seen a hint of something with the Brandt Commission Report, although there's a lot that could be said on the underlying conceptions of that work, but there have been no particularly innovative proposals to deal with organization of the international monetary system, or Third World problems, or achieving detente. We are still navigating blind in a total fog, with clashes of interest taking precedence over everything else, behind the facade of soothing speeches and Venetian harmony.

*What is your criticism of the Brandt Report?*

I think that, basically, the Brandt Commission came up with a proposal that applies the Keynesian conceptions of the 1930s to the Third World. It amounts to giving money to Third World countries so they can import low-technology industries and buy from the developed industrial countries so as to help enable the latter to redeploy their economies toward the most advanced sectors. The basic idea underlying the Brandt Commission Report is a new world division of labor, in

which low-technology industries, with their pollution and tiring, rough, semi-skilled assembly line work, are sloughed off on the underdeveloped countries, while the countries of the "center" reserve for themselves the sophisticated industries incorporating lots of grey matter, services, research, laboratories, decision-making centers, banks, insurance, etc. This is a vision of the world that I do not share. I don't believe the world will accept being structured vertically. And that, in reality, countries that set out on that path risk finding themselves in bad trouble. For it means their economies would be geared to the world market, that is, to the markets in the developed countries. And if those markets collapse, if the crisis deepens, as I expect it will throughout the '80s, they risk finding themselves in a very tough spot. I think that most Third World countries have an interest in orienting their development around themselves, towards relatively diversified economies geared more to their own needs. Considering the difficulties of economic takeoff and industrialization, I myself go along with the ideas of the nineteenth century German economist Liszt, the theoretician of industrializing protectionism, for Third World countries.

*But who agrees with you?*

Hardly anyone. Except that several countries have in that way achieved the most remarkable development efforts we know. Hardly anyone in the West, but lots of people in the Third World think in those terms.

*In the European left, who agrees with you?*

In France, some people in the Socialist Party and in the Communist Party, in Britain some Laborites. In Germany, not much of anybody. In fact, the Brandt Commission policy corresponds to the interests of Germany, of the most advanced fraction of Western capitalism.

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STTI





Photos by Earl Dotter

JACKSBORO, TENN.

**"I**T'S LANDSCAPE CHANGE ON A scale that's never been done before." That's how Annetta Watson, secretary of Save Our Cumberland Mountains (SOCM), describes strip mining in the southern Appalachian coalfields where she lives.

A fire lookout in Morgan County, Tenn., provides a spectacular view of what she means. On one side in the Frozen Head Natural Area, peaks and ridges rise steeply to elevations of over 3,300 feet from the narrow valleys below. These slopes are covered with the thick hardwood forest that the first settlers found when they ventured into the area from the British colonies on the Atlantic coast.

On the other side a panorama of pillage stretches away into the haze. Long horizontal strips of mountainside have been peeled off and the earth beneath deeply gouged. Mountains that have been stripped at three or four levels begin to resemble crude step pyramids, with incongruous tufts of forest remaining on top.

Most criticism of strip mining has focused on this sort of environmental damage. Fifteen years of publicity created a climate of national opinion that eventually led to federal strip mine control legislation. But these attitudes find a mixed reception in the coalfields, where people believe that coal is their one strong suit—and that a future without coal mining will mean increased out-migration and greater dependence on welfare for those who remain. An organization that made the elimination of strip mining its only goal would meet with indifference or even hostility.

Recognizing the role of coal in the local economy, SOCM has focused its criticism on the structure of the coal industry, pointing out not only that it exports vast amounts of wealth from the region, but also that stripping threatens to ruin the long-term viability of coal mining.

*Thomas Howard is a San Francisco writer who grew up in Kentucky. In this week's Perspectives, Rand Smith discusses some implications of increased coal dependence in U.S. energy policy.*

By Thomas F.K. Howard

# MOVING MOUNTAINS

*Before strip miners blast the Appalachian landscape beyond recovery, a citizens group intends to stop them with laws and determination.*

SOCM argues that strip mining makes future deep mining operations in the same area more dangerous, if not impossible. The high explosives that strip operators use to loosen the overburden fracture the internal structure of a mountain. Deep miners often refuse to work underground where the surface has been stripped, for fear of cave-ins. In the words of one SOCM member, strip mining is "stealing the cream and spoiling the milk."

So SOCM is organizing around both the immediate problems of coalfield residents—the low level of social services resulting from underassessment of coal operations, vital access roads ruined by illegally overloaded coal trucks, polluted water and destructive floods—and also around their long-range economic interest in environmentally benign, sustained-yield coal production.

For SOCM, which works out of an office over a furniture store in Jacksboro, this means such basic activities as keep-

ing track of new permit applications and looking to see if there are technical grounds for rejecting them; helping organize public opposition to proposed stripping operations in communities that will be affected; appealing the underassessment of coal operators and land companies at county and state hearings; lobbying the state legislature on such issues as stricter weight limitations on coal trucks; filing suits against operators for property damage; and keeping eyes and ears constantly open for illegal mining activity.

## First a tax.

SOCM grew out of a 1971 lawsuit brought by a group of coalfield residents to force Tennessee to tax the mineral reserves of the land companies. These companies were formed around the turn of the century by northern industrialists after the U.S. Geological Survey confirmed the existence of vast deposits of coal in the southern mountains. Flashing



SOCM members prepare to lobby.

seemingly large amounts of money—or, if that failed, resorting to intimidation and deed registry fraud—land company agents separated the unsophisticated farmers along the rivers and creek bottoms from their land up on the mountainsides where the coal seams lay hidden. Eventually they acquired, and still hold, tens of thousands of acres—nearly a third of the surface area of the five-county block that accounts for most of Tennessee's coal production. Until SOCM's action in 1971, these land companies had used their influence over state and county governments to escape taxation of their immense mineral wealth.

Other entrepreneurs, usually from out-

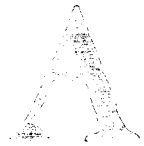
Photo by Karen Kasmanaki



side the mountains, set up mining companies. They leased promising sites from the land companies, extended rail lines back into remote areas, built tipples at the railheads and embarked on large-scale underground mining operations.

During the next half century, coal mining brought profound social and political changes to the Cumberlands. But environment, except in the immediate vicinity of mining operations, remained largely intact.

In the decade after World War II, the coal industry was completely transformed when the most important users of coal—railroad locomotives, factories, steamships, private residences—switched rapidly to oil and natural gas. Mines began to shut down all over the Appalachians, and the industry seemed to be dying.



ABOUT THE SAME TIME, THE Tennessee Valley Authority found that it had harnessed all the valley's hydroelectric potential. Nuclear power was only a distant prospect. TVA turned to coal.

Soon coal was booming again. But the closed mines stayed closed. Greatly improved earthmoving equipment had come onto the market, and local entrepreneurs discovered that they could use it to get coal out much more cheaply than the established deep mining companies. They needed only a quarter as many workers and could usually find them among friends and relatives, avoiding the problems of a unionized workforce. The front-end costs were minimal compared to underground mining. All they had to do was blast loose the trees, topsoil and rock above an outcropping seam, push it all over the side, scoop out the coal and truck it away. With augers they could bore sideways into the seam and reach back farther under the mountain. And when they had gotten all the coal they could reach, they could move on and leave the mess behind.

TVA turned a blind eye to the results. The agency was committed to cheap power, so when it turned to coal it looked for the cheapest coal it could get. TVA's New Deal mandate to foster the comprehensive economic and social development of the Tennessee Valley soon was shelved. By the Cold War era, it settled for being the country's biggest and cheapest utility. The environmental costs of stripping were completely ignored, as TVA proudly announced contracts for lower and lower prices per ton.

The land companies sat back and raked in their royalty payments from the strip operators. TVA coal policies were a gold mine to them. They showed no interest in maintaining the productivity of their holdings. After all, who knew how long coal would last? Wasn't nuclear going to get going in a few years and make it obsolete anyway? Better to rip it out as fast as possible, while the going was good.

But after a decade the devastation became too extensive to ignore. Strip mines at higher elevations could be seen 20 miles away. Local newspapers started reporting damage caused by landslides and floods in mountain communities. Then came Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty with its heavy media coverage of the problems of Appalachia. Strip mining was as good for shock value as flimsy shacks and ragged children. The environmental movement took over in keeping strip mining before the public eye after the War on Poverty was pushed aside by the war in southeast Asia. Finally Tennessee enacted strip mine control legislation in 1972. Federal controls took longer, coming in 1977 after two presidential vetoes.

#### Enforcing the law.

SOCM worked for the passage of both these measures. Much of its activity now centers around their enforcement. Although there is disagreement within the organization over the effectiveness of the laws, they do provide a major organizing tool for SOCM. To the extent that the law is enforced, strip mining must internalize its costs, which tends to reduce its advantages over deep mining. Already a common complaint from strip operators is that the law threatens to

make it too expensive for them to operate. Deep mining on a small scale has returned to the area.

SOCM disputes the claim that deep mining is more hazardous than surface mining. J.W. Bradley, SOCM activist and a former president, cites the much better health and safety records of British and German deep mines and argues that if their methods were adopted in the Cumberlands, stripping would have no health and safety advantage over deep mining. And he points out that safety conditions in deep mines have deteriorated as local operators cut corners to stay competitive with strip mines.

Bradley speaks from experience. He worked for seven years in underground mines, until stripping drove them out of business, and he would like to go back to it. "Deep mining is an honorable profession," he says, "a profession of a lot of people's choice."

Bradley got to know the mountains while growing up in Petros, down in the valley below the Frozen Head fire tower. His familiarity with local topography now serves him well in his role of SOCM's unofficial tour guide. And taking visitors through the ruined landscape in his battered Ford Bronco lets him keep an eye out for permit violations.

For example, the law requires that acid mine drainage be contained in siltation ponds and then directed away from watersheds that are used for drinking water. In a saddle below what remains of a mountain called Little Fodderstack, runs a shallow drainage channel that is supposed to accomplish this. The channel is there because Bradley brought inspectors from the Tennessee Water Quality Control Division up onto the mountain and showed them acid drainage flowing off toward the local water supply. But water soon broke through this flimsy barrier. A complaint will have to be filed and inspectors brought back up.

Often the only way to check on violations is to go into remote areas on foot. There is a certain risk involved, since the only other people for miles around are likely to be strip operators and their employees. These workers don't have much in the way of benefits or job security, but the \$7/hour they make is good money in depressed Morgan County; bringing in inspectors threatens that precarious prosperity.

For safety's sake, Bradley prefers to go on Sunday, a day of relative inactivity in the mines. A year ago he and three SOCM staff members were physically assaulted inside the Morgan County courthouse after testifying against a strip operator at a water quality hearing.



THE MOST OBVIOUS SCARS ON the Cumberlands go back more than 10 years, to the period when no reclamation at all was required. The level benches run for miles around the mountains. On the uphill side are the highwalls, man-made cliffs up to 90 feet high. Down below are the spoilbanks, aptly named masses of unstable rock and dirt that even after a decade continue to slide down into the woods and pollute the streams below. TVA has a program to reclaim these "orphan" mines—at the expense of the public and not the land companies—but the project does not appear to have been given high priority.

It was not until 1972 that Tennessee's Surface Mining Act for the first time forbade mining without a permit, set standards for receiving a permit, and required the posting of a reclamation bond. Pushing the spoil over the side was outlawed and water quality protections were instituted.

The federal Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977 went further. Under this law surface mine sites

must be "returned to approximate original contour." The spoil, instead of being pushed over the side, must be retained on the bench and bulldozed back to cover the highwall. Acid-producing rock must be deeply buried, and covered with subsoil and topsoil in the appropriate order. Finally, the site must be revegetated. Since the original vegetation in this part of the country is hardwood forest, which takes a long time to grow, it is impossible to say yet how permanent such reclamation can be.

The newly reclaimed mines, resembling long strips of meadow, certainly look better than the old ones. But this is a high rainfall area, and gullies form quickly even on natural slopes when they are deforested. More serious is the subsurface slippage of land that has not been properly compacted. J.W. Bradley points out one revegetated fill with a thick growth of young locust trees. At the uphill edge are deep fissures; the whole mass is sliding, trees and all, down the mountain.

Bradley is pessimistic. "They can't stabilize this land. If they try to put it back, it'll just wash away and slide."

A major defect in the existing law is the lack of a back-to-contour requirement for a practice known as mountain top removal. Since the coal comes in horizontal layers that run through the mountains, there is a certain engineering logic to carving off the entire top of a mountain to get at the coal, which allows 100 percent recovery. The practice is being touted by the coal industry as a desirable way to mine the Cumberlands. It is even claimed to be aesthetically pleasing, since it changes all those unsightly knobs and ridges into nice flat places.

So far, the costs under present economic conditions have discouraged this practice. But it has begun. In his tour Bradley points out examples, such as Big Brushy Mountain, which until a few years ago had a double peak with a saddle in the middle. Now the southwest peak is gone, carved away to expose a high elevation coal seam.

#### The state's record.

From SOCM's point of view there has been definite progress, but the long-term fate of the Cumberlands is still in question. That chilling new phrase—"national sacrifice area"—may yet become a reality here.

But the main advantage of the federal over the state law is not in its stricter technical requirements, according to SOCM staffer Charles "Boomer" Win-

*Continued on page 22.*

Above: Strip gouges gash mountainside. Below: Coal leaves the mountains.





IN THESE TIMES

## EDITORIAL

## Recession imperils small press

The demise of 130-year-old *Harper's Magazine* has deservedly prompted questions about the relationship between the world of business and the world of ideas. *Harper's* had no lack of readers—over 300,000—but it didn't have the kind of well-defined upper-income ("upscale") audience that advertisers are looking for. Its fall, like that of *Look*, *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, or *New Times*, had little to do with the quality or use-value of its product.

The 1980 recession will exact an even greater toll on small political journals, magazines and newspapers like *In These Times*. *Seven Days* has already gone under. *Socialist Review* had to issue a plea for funds to pay its payroll taxes. The 15-year-old *WIN* announced that the current issue may be its last. The *NACLA Report on the Americas* warned its readers it might soon suspend publication. And *In These Times* has had to go to its readers with an emergency appeal.

The small press is in an even worse position than magazines like *Harper's*. Because its readership is relatively small, regionally dispersed, and, from a Madison Avenue standpoint, heterogeneous, it has no chance of gaining substantial revenues from advertising. Instead, it has to derive its income from circulation.

Its circulation income is, in turn, largely limited to subscriptions, acquired primarily through direct-mail. Newsstand sales, which are at the mercy of large-scale distributors, hardly ever merit the cost. Mass-market publications often do their own distribution, and besides that, they don't have to make money on circulation. They only have to compile impressive figures.

The small press must also seek subscriptions under special handicaps. Because it cannot offset its circulation costs by advertising revenue, it cannot offer the kind of discounts the larger publications offer. (It is possible to get discount subscriptions to *The New Yorker*, *Newsweek*, and *Time* at less cost than a year's subscription to *In These Times* or *The Nation*.)

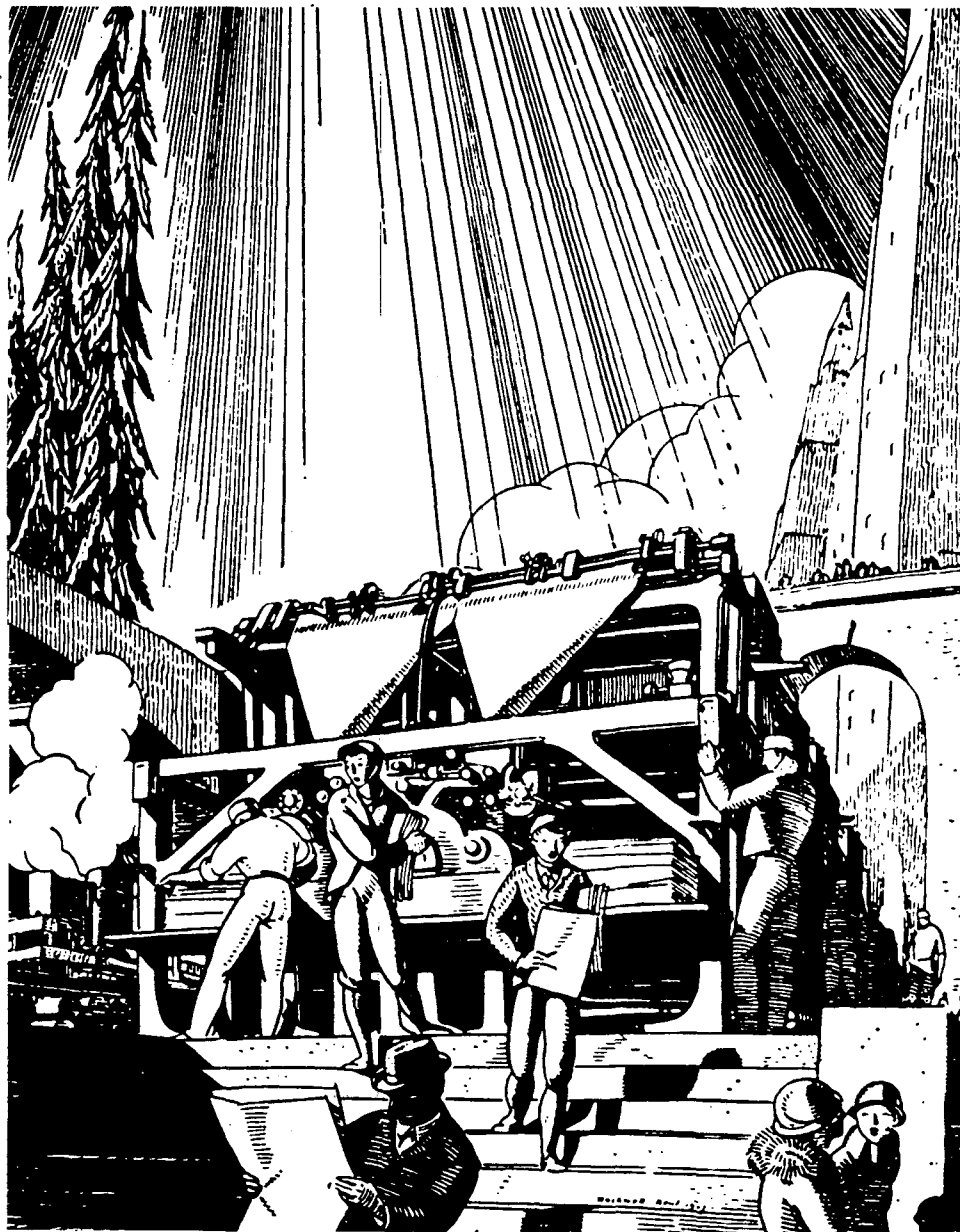
The small press is also more dependent than the larger media on the post office, which since its reorganization in 1971 has been pushing its rates ever upward. It now costs 200 percent more to mail an issue of *In These Times* than it did four years ago when we began. And mailing costs are much higher for publications that do not have regional distribution points.

In other words, the small press must rely on the least profitable source of publishing revenue, and must do so at a distinct disadvantage to its larger cousins. For this reason alone, small publications like *In These Times* always run large annual deficits. The 115-year-old *Nation* and the 71-year-old *Progressive* have rarely if ever been in the black. Even *National Review*, which would stand to benefit by the recent fortunes of the right, ran a \$500,000 deficit last year.

Given this structural weakness, the small press has been in a poor position to withstand the current combination of high interest rates, spiralling inflation, and growing unemployment. Readers increasingly doubt whether their budgets can include a subscription to *In These Times*, even though its price is less than a family outing to the movies.

But inflation and the credit crunch have even more insidious effects on the small press. Printing, postal, and supply costs have gone up about 10 percent annually without publications being able to increase their prices accordingly.

The Federal Reserve's credit crunch



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caused suppliers, printers, mailing houses, and the ever-wonderful Post Office to demand 30-day payment rather than 60 or 120 days and, in some cases, like that of the Chicago post office, to demand cash payment. This wiped out most publications' cash reserves.

But if it is so hard for the small press to exist, why not just shut them down? Do they make any contribution beyond that of the major news media? It is undeniable that the small magazines and newspapers, no less than public radio and television and off-Broadway theater and dance, have often been dull, pretentious, irrelevant, or otherwise unworthy of support or respect. But it can also be argued that amidst the current conglomerate-dominated world of movies, television, magazine, newspapers and book publishing, the small presses provide a particularly invaluable function.

### The ironies of capitalism.

As Pauline Kael points out in a recent *New Yorker* article on "Why Are Movies So Bad?" the '70s have been a particularly dismal time for mass-produced art and ideas. Movies, book-publishing and magazines have increasingly come under the sway of conglomerates like Transamerica, which have no intrinsic interest in the use or quality of the products they produce.

The new conglomerate-dominated media are obsessed with ratings and sales. They prefer proven formulas. They would rather fund a consumer-targeted magazine like *The Runner* than a diffuse political rag like *New Times*. In the news, they are more concerned with what is visually dramatic than with what is genuinely informative. (They are more interested in gondola rides down the Venice canals than the comings and goings of oil companies and international bankers that underlay much of the current Western economic malaise.)

Small presses, public television and radio, live theater, and independent movie producers are often the only places where art and ideas can flourish. They are the only places where, in Herbert Gans' terms, news is considered a "utility" rather than a "commodity," and where art is valued for its ability to test and not simply entertain an audience.

The political small press has an additional function. With the political parties having long ago foregone any role in educating the public and with the public dialogue polluted by sloganeers and pollsters, the small press is the only medium where serious analysis and programs can be presented and discussed, and where the germs of future movements can be nourished.

American corporate leaders have always understood this, and for this reason they have generously supported journals like *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*. The right wing also has publications like *Human Events* and *National Review*. The program of the Barry Goldwater candidacy in 1964 sprung out of the pages of the limited-readership *National Review*. One hopes that the program and perspective of a new American left will likewise be discussed and discovered within *In These Times*, *The Progressive*, *The Nation*, and other similar publications.

But it may not be. The same recession that has thrown into question the viability of capitalism has also thrown into question the survival of the small left press. It is a cruel irony that capitalism might destroy both the confidence of people in its own viability and the means to forge any alternative.



# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## RAIL ON

IN DISCUSSIONS OF THE NEED FOR mass transit at least partially to replace the automobile, many writers make the claim that the bus is the only practical alternative. It is said that buses offer flexibility and great economy.

In metropolitan areas the best use for buses is on the more lightly traveled routes and for feeders to stations on fixed rail routes. The diesel bus is notorious for sluggish acceleration, noxious fumes, noise and general unpleasantness for its passengers. Many think that the wholesale replacement of electric streetcar lines in the '30s and '40s created impetus for people to buy automobiles. Because of its unattractiveness the bus cannot serve well in land use planning through provision of better public transport.

The sometimes vaunted fuel efficiency of the intercity bus is purchased at the price of great passenger discomfort. A standard 85-foot single-level rail coach would hold around 120 passengers if the seats were crammed in as tightly and if the washroom facilities were equally pitiful. In addition to greater comfort, the train is potentially much faster. With minimal upgrading many routes would permit 80 mph speeds. With more work speeds of 90 mph or 110 can be allowed.

What holds back effective rail transportation within and between cities? A decades-long policy of favoritism to other modes, particularly the airline and highway interests. Currently the administration in Washington is offering increased development funds to airports while at the same time trying to whittle away an already skimpy rail passenger system. The best possible return of value for money in transportation investment would be in the rebuilding of the potentially most ecologically sound and fuel-efficient mode, the rails.

—Bob Potter  
Kent, Ohio

## OUR BACK PAGES

VERY GOOD THINGS ARE HAPPENING in your cultural section these days. I've really enjoyed the interviews you've featured, especially the ones with Pauline Kael by Pat Aufderheide (*ITT*, May 7) and with John Berger by Richard Appignonesi, with Leonard Quart and Pat Aufderheide (*ITT*, May 21 and 28). It's not often that one gets to "listen in" on thoughtful people in the arts.

I'd like to hear more from figures like Berger and Kael who are involved with American culture and have an unusual perspective on it. I know there are other readers like me who often turn to the back of the book first. Thanks for keeping us happy.

—Karen Rosenberg  
Cambridge, Mass.

## ONE MAN'S TERRORISM

THOUGHT READERS MIGHT BE INTERESTED in the CIA's latest (unclassified) report on "International Terrorism" (available from the National Technical Information Service in Springfield, Va.).

By "terrorism," the CIA does not mean acts intended to cause intense and widespread fear, such as a B-52 attack or a threat to use nuclear weapons, so much as acts that have as their primary target "officials and businessmen—especially individuals who are symbols of Western power and wealth." In other words, acts that scare the CIA.

The report points out that "most terrorist incidents are not intended to cause casualties, and only one-fourth of all attacks between 1968 and 1979 resulted in casualties." This despite the lumping together of, for example, right-wing Cuban exiles and the Sandinista Front. Using an "events data" method of study, the author rejected classification by "terrorist purpose" because "the terrorist may be unaware of why he behaves as he does." The preferred approach avoids questions that require "judgmental, rather than enumerative distinctions."

They know something is happening, but they don't know what it is, and it probably isn't getting better: "Improvements," the CIA writes regretfully, "are generating a historical consciousness that results in the pursuit of narrower and more traditional loyalties, such as ethnic and religious ties." The assigned text is *Future Shock*, but the students are reading *Roots*.

—Vida Asch  
Washington, D.C.

## BACKWARD, SUMMER SOLDIERS!

SHORTLY BEFORE THE PRESENT upheaval in Cuba, world traveler William Winter wrote: "In many respects it [Cuba] enjoys the highest literacy, the

fullest employment, the best housing program, the finest health program and the lowest infant mortality rate in the entire western hemisphere—including the U.S.!"

In *ITT*, June 18, Thomas Robbins of New Haven, Conn., refers to Cuba and asks: "Why are poor people always trying eagerly to enter imperialistic 'America' and trying desperately to leave various utopian people's republics?" And we would like to ask: If there are so many poor people in Cuba, why would they want to enter a country where living costs are mounting and jobs are difficult to find? Mr. Robbins seems to be unaware that at present Cuba is suffering from a natural calamity. For the past 20 years the U.S. has imposed a blockade, and on top of this, blight has ruined crops such as sugar, tobacco and coffee—and African fever has attacked large herds of swine. Industry too has suffered from a lack of raw material.

When all these misfortunes occur simultaneously there can arise a deserving suspicion that the CIA may again be on the prowl. Peter Winn, teacher of Latin American history at Yale University, points out that "past U.S. Senate investigations have revealed that the last time African swine fever appeared in Cuba, the Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for its introduction" (*The Nation*, June 7).

It is obvious that the recent wave of Cuban migrants was motivated, not so much from a desire for "freedom," as from the urge of "summer soldiers" to escape from the incipient austerity and sacrifices that would attend the restoration of a socialist society in distress.

Before the migration, Cuba had 10,000,000 inhabitants, and something over 100,000 of them decided to leave. Our media, always eager to discredit socialist societies, tried to make a big issue over the massive "flight from communism." One newspaper headline exclaimed: "Cubans Vote With Their Feet." This scurrilous charge has turned out to be nothing but a facetious hoax, for if the figures are more closely examined we must come to the conclusion that only 1 percent of the Cuban people sought greener pastures, while 99 percent voted with their hearts and remained faithful to the benevolent dictator who led them out of bondage.

—Edward Drew Gourley  
Walnut Creek, Calif.

**Editor's Note:** Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

## The steady dedication of Carey McWilliams

Carey McWilliams, writer and former editor of *The Nation*, died during the night of June 26 at the age of 74.

Born in 1905 in Steamboat Springs, Carey was the son of a rancher in that northern Colorado town. The McWilliams ranch fell victim to the post-World War I economic slump and, after his father's death, young Carey accompanied his mother to California, settling in Los Angeles, where he grew up and was educated. There never was quite enough money and while a student at the University of Southern California, he looked for an after-hours job to enhance the family income. Across the street were the offices of the *Los Angeles Times*, where Carey found employment.

Carey always styled himself as a writer, rather than an editor or journalist. He came early to that profession and in 1929 his first book appeared, a biography of Ambrose Bierce—best known as a journalist, but very much a brilliant and mordant writer. Bierce's life was a romantic one, from his early years as a Civil War soldier to his end—no one knows just where or when—in Mexico, in Pancho Villa's time. Carey always had a romantic streak in him, and his pursuit of Bierce may have provided needed catharsis.

McWilliams proceeded, after graduation from USC, to study law, primarily labor law. He gave time and energy to (though did not officially represent) the newly-formed Screen Actors' Guild in which the young Ronald Reagan, then strongly progressive, had a hand. Under California's Governor Olson, Carey McWilliams headed the division of immigration and housing, which is to say he worked on behalf of the poor and homeless.

His legal career continued through the '30s and the World War II years: he represented young Mexican immigrants and sons of immigrants—now called Chicanos, then referred to as "Zoot-Suiters." His aid and advice were instrumental in setting up Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers' organizing committee. Any list of the progressive and labor causes helped by Carey McWilliams would be nearly endless.

Important and serious books poured from him during these years. In 1935 came *Factories in the Field*, a vivid portrayal of the plight of the farm workers (simultaneous with John Steinbeck's fictionalization, *The Grapes of Wrath*); in 1941, *Ill Fares the Land*; in 1942 his



Tom Greensfelder

work on racial prejudice, *Brothers Under the Skin*; in 1948 the acclaimed *North from Mexico*, the story of the travels and travails of the Chicanos—and many other works.

His association with *The Nation* began in the late '40s, when he became a regular contributor. Finally, in 1951, he came East. In his words: "I came to New York in the spring of 1951 to edit a special civil liberties issue, thinking the assignment might take a month or six weeks to execute. But once here I was prevailed upon [by editor Freda Kirchwey] to join the staff, and have remained..." He remained to become the magazine's editor for two decades (1955-75), and thereafter continued to write until his death. His last book, *The Education of Carey McWilliams*, appeared in 1978.

Having worked very closely with Carey McWilliams through his last ten years at *The Nation*, I may be forgiven for ending with a personal note. Carey's chief editorial tool was not the traditional blue pencil; it rather seemed to be a crystal ball (though I never found out where he hid it). That is to say, his outstanding quality was prescience: he could see tomorrow's problems, and next year's social issues, long before his contemporaries—and he always seemed to know where the switches were to illuminate them.

He was a man always reaching out to people—principally, though not only, the poor and unfortunate—with sympathy, with understanding of their condition and their needs, and the eloquent ability to make their problems known to all who read him. Above all, he was a steady man, year after year, and decade upon decade, throwing light into the darker corners of our world. With his departure, we have all lost a fine and peerless pilot.

—James Storrow

James Storrow was publisher of *The Nation* from 1965 to 1977.

This is Mary . . .  
She's underpaid,  
sexually harassed,  
passed over for  
promotion and  
stuck in a stereo-  
typed role . . .

She's also  
against the  
ERA . . . why?



She likes being  
treated special . . .

DAYTON NEWS 1980



# PERSPECTIVES

## Energy transition will change the coal industry

By Rand Smith

**AMERICAN ENERGY POLICYMAKERS FEEL AS IF THEY ARE** running on empty. With stagnating production of domestic oil and gas, political uncertainties in the Middle East, and rising opposition to nuclear energy, energy options appear limited. Government energy officials are searching frantically for an energy plan that will ensure stable prices and secure supplies. They say a "transitional" energy source is needed to tide the country over the next 30 to 40 years while new energy sources are developed to replace oil and natural gas.

A powerful constituency is mobilizing to promote one possible energy source—coal. The coal industry—supported by the oil industry, the United Mine Workers, and top officials in the Department of Energy—is utilizing the present climate of uncertainty regarding U.S. energy options to build support for coal as the central fuel of the coming energy "transition."

But what will this "transition" be? The recent International Coal Show of the American Mining Congress held in Chicago's vast McCormick Place provided a few clues. From the endless displays of the latest coal-mining hardware and the panel sessions of coal spokesmen, a clear picture emerged: the coming wave of coal development will not be led by the independent coal companies that dominated the industry 20 years ago, but by a few "energy corporations" bent on "integrating" coal development

into their overall plans. They target coal as the backbone of a synthetic fuels industry producing liquid and gaseous fuels from coal to replace dwindling supplies of oil and natural gas. A more aggressive political stance by the coal industry, aimed at eliminating "excessive government regulation" of coal and rolling back federal environmental safeguards will accompany this development.

Randall Meyers, president of Exxon U.S.A., indicated coal industry plans when he called for an \$800 billion program over the next 30 years to develop a synthetic fuels industry producing 15 million barrels a day. (By comparison, the U.S. currently consumes the equivalent of 27 million barrels a day of oil and gas.) About half the "rock" needed for such a program would come from coal and half from oil shale.

The dimensions of Meyer's plan for coal became apparent when these num-

bers were compared with current coal production: "To achieve this growth—and to provide coal needed as conventional fuel as well," Meyers said, "production of coal would have to increase from about 734 million short tons this year to almost 1.3 billion in 1990, and to more than 2.2 billion in the year 2000."

Where would the increase in coal production come from and who would mine it? Of the 7 million barrels a day of coal-derived fuel required by Meyer's scenario, well over half would come from the Powder River Basin of Wyoming and Montana and other mines in the West—areas of vast, undeveloped wilderness. The rest would come from the traditional coal mining areas of Appalachia and the Illinois Basin as well as new mines in the Gulf Coast region. This emphasis on Western coal is further underlined in a recent survey of planned expansion conducted by the editors of *Keystone Coal Industry Manual*, an industry publica-



A poster put out by the UMW.

tion. Coal companies report that about three-fourths of new production capacity between now and 1988 will be from mines west of the Mississippi River.

The chief attractions of Western coal are easy accessibility for strip-mining, low sulfur content, which makes it attractive to utilities companies with federal air pollution standards, and low labor costs. Western mines require relatively few "miners"—most are heavy equipment operators who run the giant draglines and hauling trucks—and, happily for the owners, these workers have shown little inclination to join unions or go on strike.

The question of who will develop this coal—and the nascent "synfuels" industry—highlights the dramatic transformations taking place in the coal industry. It is no accident that Meyer of Exxon can confidently predict the future of coal development: his and other "energy corporations"—primarily large oil companies such as Mobil, Atlantic Richfield, and Conoco—have garnered huge coal reserves during the past decade and are rapidly coming to dominate the industry. As *Business Week* (Sept. 24, 1979) reports: "From a modest 22 percent share in 1978, oil companies have embarked on an ambitious program that will put their share of national [coal] production at almost 50 percent by 1985."

The bulk of recent coal acquisitions in the Western states, unsurprisingly, has been made by such energy corporations. The list of planned mine developments in Wyoming, for example, is a Who's Who of oil-based energy corporations. ARCO (Atlantic Richfield), Carter Mining (Exxon), Kerr-McGee, Arch Minerals (Ashland Oil), Shell Oil.

Energy corporations are also buying heavily into Eastern coal. For example, a recent study by the Illinois South Project, a public interest group, underlines the growing concentration in the Illinois coal industry. In 1977, the 11 largest coal companies accounted for 97.5 percent of the total state production, and "of these 11 largest coal companies operating in Illinois, only one, Sahara Coal Co., is an independent operator. All the others are subsidiaries or divisions of oil companies and other major national and multinational corporations."

Coal development in the 1980s, then,

will clearly mean growing domination of American energy resources by a handful of energy corporations controlling oil, gas, uranium and coal, and "integrating" these resources into long-range investment and production plans. Yet despite their optimism that the future will bring growth, coal industry officials are presently frustrated. Since the 110-day strike during the winter of 1977-78, coal production has increased only modestly; the National Coal Association is forecasting for 1980 only a 2.6 percent increase in production over last year.

Why this slow growth? The coal industry blames "excessive government interference," and the American Mining Congress meeting reflected this anti-regulation mood. Speaker after speaker denounced the "lack of balance" between energy and environmental protection policies, claiming that recent environmental protection laws—in particular the Surface Mining Act and the Clean Air Act Amendments, both enacted in 1977—have hamstrung the industry.

The coal industry asserts that reclamation standards set by the Surface Mining Act are too strict, particularly for the fragile and arid Western lands that are difficult to restore. The Clean Air Act Amendments place limits on sulfur emissions from coal-fired boilers and require extensive (and expensive) "scrubbing" or cleaning of coal gases before they are released into the atmosphere. The industry is pressuring for these limits to be relaxed so that coal can be burned more cheaply.

These complaints are not new, but now they are being voiced much more vigorously. The coal industry has launched a broad public relations and lobbying push to roll back federal environmental safeguards that it claims would increase production costs or hinder demand for coal. According to Mike Schechtman of the Illinois South Project, "The Surface Mining Act of 1977 has galvanized the coal industry to work together. I've never seen this kind of organization before."

To back its cause, the industry has harnessed a coalition of UMW officers (who look uneasily at the estimated 20,000 miners now unemployed), state government officials, sympathetic federal bureaucrats, and important congressional figures from both parties. Gov. James Thompson (R-Ill.) drew applause in his keynote address when he said: "Let's get the government out of the business of trying to run the energy business." He was followed by Governor Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.), head of the President's Coal Commission, who repeated his commission's recent recommendation that the federal government take steps to "stimulate coal demand."

Whether his rhetoric—and behind-the-scenes lobbying—will, as one speaker demanded, "set coal free" remains to be seen. The coal industry's present problems appear to have more to do with the "invisible hand" of the market than with the heavy hand of government. Electric utilities—which account for more than 70 percent of coal consumption—are burdened with overcapacity and sluggish growth, while the steel industry, another large coal user, is suffering what will likely be a long-term depression. Ironically, the most promising short-term solution to coal's woes may be exports—to Japan and Western Europe.

For the long run, synthetic fuels offer a much brighter prospect for the coal industry, and it appears that the Carter administration and Congress have gotten the message. Carter has just signed the Energy Security Act, which will create a government corporation to spur synthetic fuels development through purchase agreements and loan and price guarantees. The corporation will have \$20 billion over the next four years to offer private industry as inducements and, pending congressional approval, can tap another \$68 billion in 1984 if more "carrots" are needed. Given these kinds of incentives, there is little doubt that coal use will increase and that the coal industry—increasingly unified and dominated by the Exxons and Conocos—will be a much more potent political force in the "transition" years ahead.

Rand Smith teaches in the Politics Department at Lake Forest College.

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## INPRINT



The car in which Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt died.

## POLITICS

## In cold blood, or why CIA must be destroyed

**Assassination on Embassy Row**  
By John Dinges & Saul Landau  
Pantheon, \$14.95, 384 pp.

By Jeff Stein

I went out to the suburban home of a burnt-out CIA official the other night to take a look at a book manuscript on which he is working. There was pretty hot stuff in it, he assured me. As I turned through the pages, I became appalled at the remarkable naivete of the man, who had spent over 25 years in America's top intelligence agency, part of it in the clandestine branches, the rest as a ranking analyst of communist movements. His conclusion: "The CIA is really not much interested in intelligence, that is, information gathering. Its real purpose is covert action."

Nothing comes home more clearly in this important new book by John Dinges and Saul Landau than this fact, so belatedly learned by my CIA acquaintance. The job of the CIA is to inflict on other people a whole range of activities that would be rejected out of hand by even the most conservative of Americans should they become state policy here at home: bribery, the "disappearance" of union leaders, and political assassination on a routine basis.

Orlando Letelier, a towering figure who led Chilean exile forces against the Pinochet dictatorship from his base in the U.S., assumed he was safe here. The Chilean secret police—the DINA—he thought, would never dare to strike at him in the living room of its sponsors: the CIA that had helped overthrow Allende and organized the post-coup terror squads, the international banks and lending institutions that had strangled Chilean socialism in its infancy and bottle-fed its killers, the Washington political establishment that applauded dictatorships around the world in the name of "stability."

And so Orlando Letelier started out on his fateful drive on the

morning of Sept. 21, 1976, to work at the Institute for Policy Studies. With him were two young and enthusiastic colleagues, Michael Moffitt, then 26, and his bride of only a few months, Ronni Karpen, age 25. They drove through light traffic along Washington's "Embassy Row." Two men followed in a light gray sedan. "Ronni," according to the authors, "embodied all the brightness the day lacked. When she turned her head to talk to Orlando, Michael would admire her profile." A moment later, it was all over.

#### Murder.

I heard the first sketchy reports an hour later when I walked into the offices of the newspaper where I worked, a now-defunct left-wing weekly. Something about a bomb at IPS. I found Orlando had been murdered along with Ronni.

Immediately, I knew who had killed them: it was DINA, the Chilean secret police, the creation of the CIA. Three days later, I sat down to write my story and concluded the murder would probably not be "solved." How could one intelligence agency (the FBI), investigate another (the CIA)? The FBI had a long history of harassing the Institute for Policy Studies with informants, wiretaps, and break-ins.

It would take the FBI a while to get onto the trail of the murderers. The Chilean embassy put out the story that Letelier and the Moffitts had been killed by their own bomb. Others in official Washington, including some of Letelier's former Chilean colleagues at the Inter-American Development Bank where he was an economist before joining the Allende government, whispered that the left had killed Letelier to "create a martyr." Anonymous CIA sources planted the same theme in the press.

From the authors: "Special Agent Carter Cornick of the FBI heard the same drumbeat. Some senior FBI officials referred to Letelier and the IPS as 'pinkos' and 'commie perverts.' They

dropped suggestions to Cornick to direct the investigation at the American left and Chilean exiles. Cornick, a staunch anti-communist, resisted."

It would be another two and a half years before the murderous conspiracy hatched in the womb of American intervention in Chile came to a denouement of sorts in a Washington courtroom. The court convicted three hapless Cuban exiles, thugs hired by DINA, for their parts in the conspiracy. The Chilean "jackal" who had arranged it, the American-born Michael Townley, son of a Ford Motor Com-

Continued on page 18.

## SEXUALITY

## Herculine—was she or wasn't he?

**Herculine Barbin, Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a 19th-Century French Hermaphrodite**

Introduced by Michel Foucault  
Trans. by Richard McDougall  
Pantheon, \$8.95 hardcover,  
\$4.95 paper, 199 pp.

By Pat Aufderheide

Michel Foucault has done it again—gotten a book out of what most of us would take for research notes or, perhaps, an article. *Herculine Barbin* is to his multi-volume, barely-begun *History of Sexuality* project what *I, Pierre Riviere, having slaughtered my mother, my sister and my brother...* was to his study of penal systems, *Discipline and Punish*. It is a collection of primary documents that have rich gossip interest, accompanied by preliminary analytic notes (here sketchy and all by Foucault, in contrast to *I, Pierre Riviere*, where his students contributed analytic essays). These documents pertain to his investigation of the cultural construction of sexuality in the capitalist era.

The collection includes first, and most interesting, the diary of a hermaphrodite, raised in convent schools as a girl, legally designated male as an adult and a suicide by age 30. (As important in the suicide as the misery and guilt of sexual redefinition was Barbin's inability to get a decent job when he had been trained as a schoolmistress and lady's maid.) Following are re-

ports of doctors and journalists of the time, and concluding is a short fiction written in 1893, with all the license of a Hollywood screenwriter, from the diary. The differences in these texts, between first and third person and between both and the fiction could provide fun for new literary critics for years.

Foucault barely takes the lid off this literary Pandora's Box. He asks the key question the material raises, one whose answer was clearly assumed by 19th century doctors and journalists: "Do we truly need a true sex?" That they so worked to categorize a sexuality that straddled the line he identifies as part of the "discursive explosion" about sex in the period. More open discussion of sex was a symptom of increasing social control over, not greater permissiveness about, sexuality.

His case for the specific differences between this attitude and other attitudes preceding it is as yet unsubstantiated; sometimes he wavers on the brink of an inflexible division between "traditional" and "modern" attitudes. As he admits, his revelations for what this really says about the mentality of 19th century France about sex, civilization and nature remains for future volumes of *The History of Sexuality*. But as usual, France's foremost outrageous intellectual is provocative and insightful with a throw-away line. And he does have amazing luck in finding confessional documents. ■

## ANTI-NUKE

## Big picture on the energy war

**Energy War: Reports from the Front**

By Harvey Wasserman  
Lawrence Hill, \$5.95, 253 pp.

By Eden Clorfene

Nuclear power poses more dangers to human life and to the environment than does any other energy source. Harvey Wasserman, a journalist and anti-nuclear activist, provides a broad survey of the facts relating to these dangers. He treats, for example, the urgent and unsolved problem of storing radioactive waste, the contamination and depletion of water supplies near reactor cooling systems and the inability of the nuclear industry to account for four tons of "lost" plutonium.

*Energy War* is not just an anti-nuke handbook. In it, the fight to shut down nukes emerges as just one aspect of a larger struggle. Wasserman's underlying point is that the bigger battle is changing the political and economic structure which favors and feeds on the corporate, highly centralized nuclear industry. He argues the point persistently



Sam Lovejoy

throughout, with solid but not overbearing pressure.

Wasserman, a former history instructor at Hampshire College, has been writing about the energy war since 1973, when his hometown, Montague, Mass., was chosen for the site of a twin reactor project. *Energy War* is a chronological collection of his coverage, consisting of articles and essays, of the opposition to nuclear power and to the system responsible for it.

Wasserman has written a handbook and a history of civil disobedience, of how people have tried to stop the intrusion

of nuclear reactors or other harmful energy sources into their communities; of how people have risked—and in some cases lost—their lives to gain control of their environments and of decisions concerning how their communities will empower and feed themselves.

Wasserman takes advantage of the natural drama of these stories. He reports the trials, the federal agencies' interventions, the strategies on each side, and conveys the acute suspense of waiting to find out the outcome of the citizens' challenge.

*Energy War* describes the local heroes and the landmark battles. It introduces Sam Lovejoy, a Montague resident who, in 1973, sabotaged a nuke harbinger, a weather tower erected by Northeast Utilities. It details the four-year-old struggle by the residents of Seabrook, N.H., and the Clamshell Alliance to keep a nuke out of Seabrook and the ongoing fight to stop the Diablo Canyon, Calif., plant, which lies near an earthquake fault. The book concludes with a review of alternative energy sources. ■

Eden Clorfene is a Chicago writer.



# Short Notice

## The Search for the "Manchurian Candidate": The CIA and Mind Control

by John Marks

McGraw-Hill, \$4.95

This slim book will shock even veteran viewers of *Sixty Minutes*. Marks, co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, has unearthed a mine of materials on the use of psychological warfare by American intelligence. Writing with a strong sense of history and a sense of humor essential in treating such deadly serious subject matter, Marks bares the connections between academic research in mind control and the needs of the CIA. Most disturbing are the chapters on the development of programs designed to alter behavior through hallucinogenic drugs and on the innocent victims of CIA experiments. **DRR**



Marjorie Lipsyte

### Hot Type

by Marjorie Lipsyte

Doubleday, \$9.95

You may not know whether to laugh or to cry a lot of the time in this novel, but you won't stop before the end. It's a fast-moving story set in summer 1960 New York, of a secretary at America's leading daily who wants to be a reporter—how she gets there and what it costs. The theme is a woman's struggle against pervasive discrimination. (The author says she decided to write it when she heard women employees at the *New York Times*, where she worked 1956-64, were filing a sex discrimination suit.) The heroine, while vulnerable, is also resilient and funny. We learn as much

about the romance of journalism as about men and women's roles. Not comforting is the way Lipsyte's descriptions of 1960 young male reporters jive with current models, nor is the realization that the 1960 up-and-comers are now senior editors. **PA**

### Redupers: The All-Around Reduced Personality

Helke Sander (direction, screenplay, lead actress)

Unifilm, 419 Park Ave. S., NYC 10016

1977, W. Germany, 98 min. b&w This should be one of those good-for-you-but films, and instead it has a quiet, unusual appeal. Made by a hitherto-political documentarist, it's a few days in the life of a freelance West Berlin photographer whose child and socialist-feminist principles compete with freelance work for her time. It has many vignettes full of exasperated humor about doing leftist art (the wisecrack in the collective, the suspicious bureaucrats, the disappointment of a partial success). The isolation of this hard-working artist in West Berlin becomes graphic when we walk with her through her days, but the world over the wall of "the all-around realized Socialist personality," as the radio blares, doesn't beckon too brightly either. A popular success in West Germany (only available now in the U.S.), the film's iconoclasm may be a little strong for the East. The style throughout is dry, ironic, modest, but always self-assured. **PA**

### Shrinking Dollars, Vanishing Jobs: Why the Economy Isn't Working for You

by Dick Cluster, Nancy Rutter and the Staff of *Dollars and Sense* magazine

Beacon Press, \$5.95

This economics primer is radical and readable. The authors marshal contemporary facts and figures on energy, runaway shops, unions, imperialism, trade, inflation, government spending and unemployment. Sections on capitalism's role in shaping the work routine and on the problems of working women give the book a human face. The relatively few



SOUTHERN EXPOSURE takes a special issue to focus on architecture.

charts and graphics are of great value. A concluding chapter forcefully offers socialism as an alternative to privatism and decay. An appendix suggests publications and organizations useful for understanding and changing the economy. **DRR**

**Southern Progressive Periodicals**  
Progressive Education, P.O.  
Box 120574, Nashville, TN  
37212, \$1.50

An updated, 1980 directory of progressive periodicals throughout 13 southern states. **DM**

### Documents

By Christy Macy and Susan Kaplan, Penguin Books, \$8.95 The peculiar and pervasive efforts of the CIA, FBI and other agencies to root out "subversion" from American life are the Skid Row/Mafioso/Combat Zone/Times Square side of our government—at times disgusting, offensive, dangerous, lethal and criminal, but often at the same time lurid, fantastic and titillating. Christy Macy and Susan Kaplan have dredged up from the files of these agencies a

fat portfolio of documents revealing in the agents' own not-too-literate words (with brief introductions by the authors) just what sort of hanky-panky they planned in defense of the American way. (There's even a huge appendix of reproductions of original documents, presumably for the doubters or intelligence buffs.) Sometimes a little tedious, but generally ripe with the sort of perverse humor/horror that J. Edgar Hoover used to supply so abundantly. **DM**

**Southern Exposure**, special issue called "Building South" (Spring 1980, Vol. VIII, No. 1) edited by Tom Schlesinger

Institute for Southern Studies, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701  
Single issue \$4; yearly sub \$10 In "Building South," the latest issue of *Southern Exposure* magazine, two dozen writers, researchers and photographers lead spectators beyond the facades of southern buildings from Monticello to mobile homes and corporate franchises into ignored aspects of the art of construction and the effects of a community's social and economic character on its architecture. Compiling a brilliant and pertinent analysis of America's largest industry (it does a business of almost \$200 billion yearly), special issue editor Tom Schlesinger focused his attention on "the lives and achievements of everyday artisans, working people's homes and the complex ways that the region's biggest builders aggrandize power and profit." **EL**

**Contributors:** Pat Aufderheide, Elisabeth Lasch, David Moberg, David Roediger

## Chile

Continued from page 17.

pany executive in Chile, benefited from a facile plea-bargain between U.S. and Chilean officials. In exchange for his testimony against the Cuban exiles and the top Chilean secret police officials who ordered the murder, Townley would not be required to talk about other conspiracies to carry out mayhem in other countries. He received a 10-year sentence with parole eligibility after a handful of months. The Carter administration backed down when Pinochet's puppet court, into whose hands the American prosecutor had naively placed his faith, arrogantly and confidently rejected the timid U.S. request for extradition of the higher-ups. U.S.-Chile relations have returned full circle to the warm and rosy days after the coup.

Page after page, chapter after chapter, John Dinges, a former *Washington Post* correspondent in Chile, and Saul Landau, a noted filmmaker and former colleague of Letelier's at the Institute for Policy Studies, weave the dramatic pattern of official U.S.-Chilean complicity which led to the murders, the unsatisfying outcome of the investigation, and the demented personalities which made it all possible. The book often races like the wind, and it could be read like a thriller, from the opening chapter when Michael Townley lands at John F. Kennedy Airport enroute to kill his target.

But two elements fortunately intercede: One is the authors' skillful and valuable narrative on the growth of Chilean socialism through the life of Orlando Let-

elier, born of an upper-class family and educated in Chile's elite military academy. Rejecting the slick formula of a detective story alone, the authors help us understand clearly why both Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt were murdered and not just how. Those who skip those parts of the book will have an easier read but a harder life.

Second, the authors raise a disturbing group of questions. They clearly show that there was a concerted attempt to derail the investigation; important documents were destroyed or kept from honest investigators' hands. George Bush, the director of the CIA, and Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State until Jan. 20, 1977, had advance knowledge of ominous DINA missions in Washington at the time of the murders and kept the information from the FBI. Michael Townley's picture disappeared from U.S. embassy files as an FBI agent arrived in Santiago. Immigration records that might have immediately led

to Townley and other DINA agents were erased from computers.

The book ends, but the cover-up continues, and the "story" should as well. Reporters who work the national security beat—the Justice Department, FBI, CIA, and State Department—should demand to know why the investigation was rocked from within. In this, of course, there are risks: a Cuban-American who provided me information for an article on the Omega 7 exile terrorist group, from whose ranks were drawn the recruits to murder Letelier, was gunned down on a New Jersey street last year. Federal authorities shrugged.

And there is a bottomline message for all of us in this book as well. The CIA does not just exist to collect intelligence—it arranges for the murder of our friends. It should not be merely "leashed," and certainly not "unleashed." It should be destroyed. ■

Jeff Stein is Washington editor of *The Progressive*.

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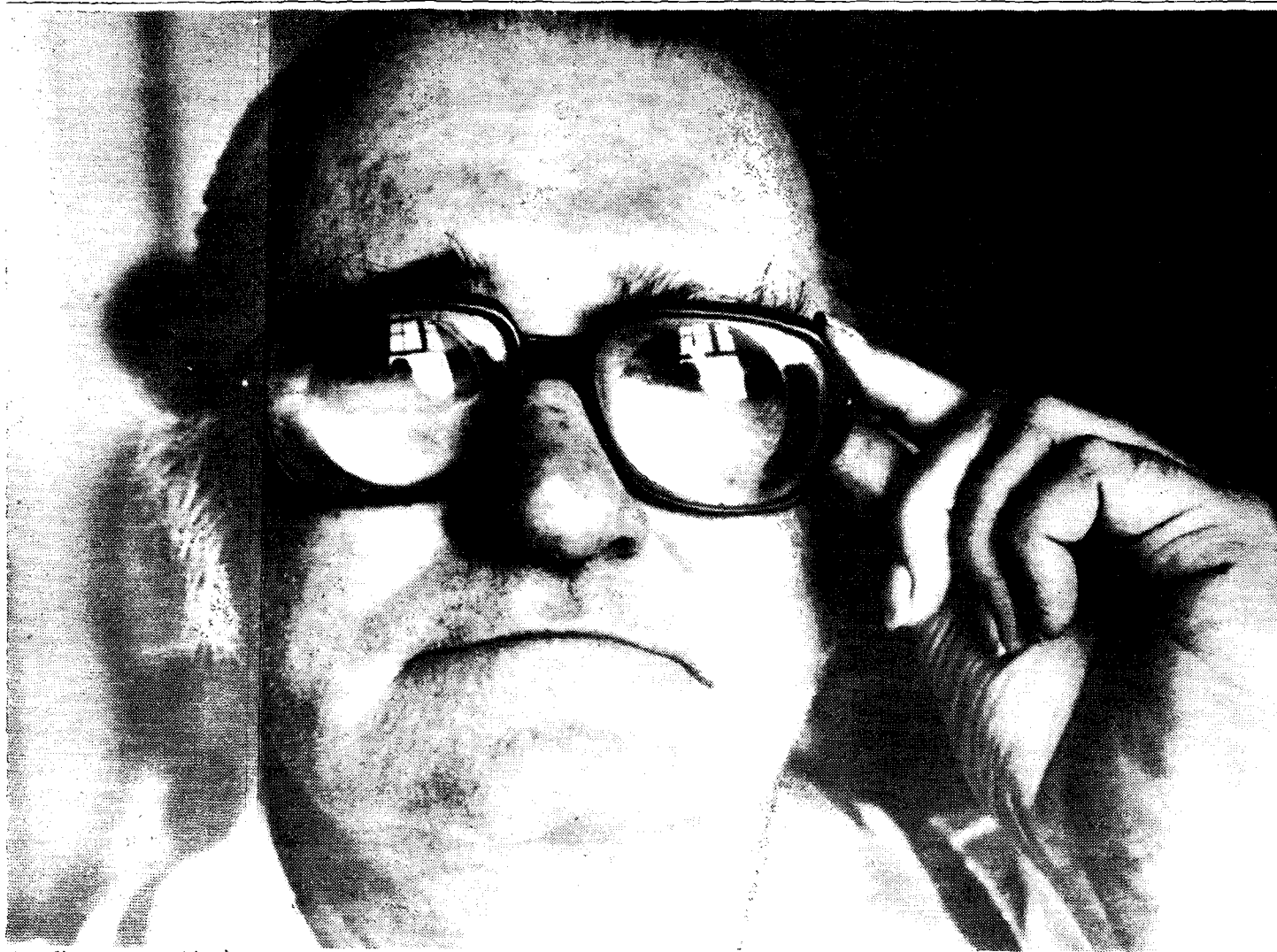
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## HEALTH AND SAFETY



Joe Towne says his cataracts were caused by exposure to microwaves.

# Microwave victims organize

By Patrick May

**J**OSEPH H. TOWNE, RETIRED AIR Force radar technician, the "Ralph Nader of Microwaves," 60-year-old founding father of Radar Victims Network (RVN), appears at the front door of his northern California home in full battle dress: a t-shirt that reads "S.S. Titanic Iceberg Lookout," a pair of eyeglasses with lenses as thick as Coke bottle bottoms, and his USS Nimitz "fishin' cap."

He's fighting a paper battle, now in its tenth year, of claims and lawsuits by Network members brought against their former employers—the military, the Defense Department civil service, the Federal Aviation Administration, and other little irradiated pockets of American society. These men now constitute the advance guard in a war that's gone from cold to warm to sizzling in the last decade.

They maintain that the physical defects they're suffering from today—the crippling headaches, the nervous disorders, the sterility—are all direct results of prolonged exposure to microwave radiation (MWR).

Towne leads his visitors into the nerve-center of RVN operations, a make-shift office in a back bedroom of his suburban house near Sacramento, Calif. From this hub of the wheel, hundreds of calls and letters go out every month to the more than 200 organization members who claim to be living, and, says Towne, "sometimes dying" proof that MWR is dangerous to human beings. The small room is a clearinghouse for information regarding claims won, pending, or yet-to-be-filed before the Department of Labor's Bureau of Federal Employees Compensation and the Veterans Administration's Board of Appeals.

"It's a labor of love," says Towne, scanning the piles of printed matter through the tunnel-vision that two eye cataract operations have left him viewing the world from behind fish-bowl glasses.

"We're making progress. It's a little like chipping away with a 2-lb. hammer

at the Rock of Gibraltar, but we're making dents and we are winning cases."

In more than one mind's eye, that rock is indeed an impressive obstacle. To Paul Brodeur, author of the book *The Zapping of America*, it's "the military-electronics industry complex which has dominated the bio-medical research [of the effects of MWR on humans] and has deliberately suppressed study after study." To national columnist Jack Anderson, it's the Pentagon that has "tried to pooh-pooh such reports." To Towne, "The name of the game is money—and I mean megabucks, because the entire electronics industry is tied up in this thing."

### Planes.

North Highlands, Calif., is one of those quiet bedroom communities scattered across the Sacramento Valley. If it weren't for the jets screaming up out of McClellan Air Force Base down the road you would have no trouble hearing a pin drop on Joe Towne's front lawn. In Towne's scarred eyes, each one is an airborne symbol of what has made him what he is today—a suburban invalid, unable to walk more than 50 yards without his legs going numb and out from underneath him, looking at life with blinders on.

From 1957 until 1966, Towne worked over 25 hours a week as a radar technician, or "scope dope," aboard an EC-121 "Radar Constellation" spy splane. Flying out of McClellan every fourth day, Towne was working in just one of about 40 other similar aircraft. The crews ranged from 12 to 26 men and they carried out some of the nation's most secret and sensitive aerial espionage and reconnaissance.

These "Connies," as the now-mothballed planes were called, were described by one writer as "a four-engined turbo prop, three-tailed, lumbering machine nick-named the 'pregnant porpoise' because of its radar dome on top and the deep pod slung from its belly."

"The whole bird was subject to MWR leakage from the equipment," Towne explains. "There was what's known as a 'wave guide,' a pipe leading from the

transmitter up to the radar's antenna. It had a series of joints on it and as the plane shook in flight, there'd be radiation pouring out of them."

To locate those leaks, Towne and his Connie cronies would hold a small fluorescent light bulb in a pair of needle-nosed pliers and pass the bulb along the length of the guide. Leaking radiation would set the light aglow—a commonplace occurrence. Another ten years were to pass before they finally began to make the connection between the Connie's invisible "electronic smog" and the heart disease, memory failure, leukemia, and other ailments that many of them started to suffer from.

Did the military know back then of the health hazards involved in working in close proximity to radar equipment? Was no advice given to the radar techs on safety procedures? More than ten years later, Towne still has trouble disguising his bitterness.

"In all the damned years that I worked around radar, the only thing they told us was 'Don't stand right in front of the antenna.' That was it! The crime of this whole thing is that they knew all along that the hazards existed. They knew the potential for eye damage and they didn't say a word about it."

He retired from the Air Force in 1966 and began working as a records officer for the Sacramento County Sheriff's Department. For the next two years Towne's vision slowly deteriorated. A civilian eye specialist took a look at Towne and confirmed that he had cataracts and that they were due to MWR. In 1968, the military brought Towne and other ex-radar-men down to Letterman Army Hospital in San Francisco.

Towne then travelled to New York where he was examined by Dr. Milton Zaret, then an associate professor of ophthalmology at New York University's Bellevue Medical Center.

Zaret's diagnosis was as prompt as it was disheartening: Joseph Towne was indeed suffering from cataracts in both eyes. There's no reversing the growth of cataracts. Either they are removed surgically, in which case the eye's lens is also

taken away, or they are left untouched, thereby risking the possibility of blindness. Towne opted for the former.

### Tests.

Since 1959, when Zaret examined the eyes of the first of 1,600 military radar technicians and microwave workers in defense-related industries, the doctor had been the foremost critic of the government's policies on MWR.

His study had been requested by none other than the U.S. Air Force. Asked to determine if any special eye risk existed for microwave workers, Zaret gave them an answer three years later that they were only too happy to hear: a negative one.

The Air Force didn't have much time to savor the response. A few of the civilian companies that had sent some of their employees to take part in the original study later referred others to Zaret for advice and consultation. This new batch, however, were confirmed cataract sufferers. The cataracts of these men, without exception, had developed on the posterior capsular surface, i.e., on the back of the eye.

Convinced that this characteristic could be the direct result of prolonged exposure to MWR, Zaret began to re-examine subjects from the original Air Force-sponsored study. This time, however, he paid particular attention to the backs of the eyes. Results from the two groups were similar.

Soon after his findings were published, Zaret received word that the Air Force was no longer interested in having him delve any further into the matter.

### Cold shoulder.

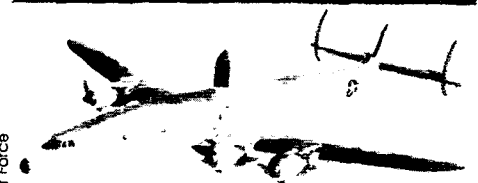
Zaret was not the only one to get a cold shoulder from the military.

After his operation, Towne ran into an old Air Force buddy who was also seeing the world lately in the same way Towne was—through tunnel-vision. He made a quick check of 70 former EC-121 crewmembers still living in the Sacramento area and discovered that 12 of them, or about 17 percent, had developed cataracts. The men were in their 20s, 30s and 40s, an unusually low age group for such eye problems.

When he told the Air Force about it, "they gave us the brush-off," Towne said. "You've got to understand—we were all pretty green back in those days."

Nonetheless, a group of them banded together and decided to file suit. Since claims for service-connected disabilities can be made only through the Veterans Administration, and not through the civil

**Towne was a radar tech on a spy plane. Now he's semi-blind, crippled, very angry, and the "Ralph Nader of the microwaves."**



legal system ("making us second-class citizens," says Towne), they proceeded to take the other half of the "complex" to court—that is, the industries behind the design and construction of the EC-121s. This, they soon discovered, was far easier said than done.

"Some of the companies weren't named in the original suit because we had a hard time finding out who in the hell had made the damn things."

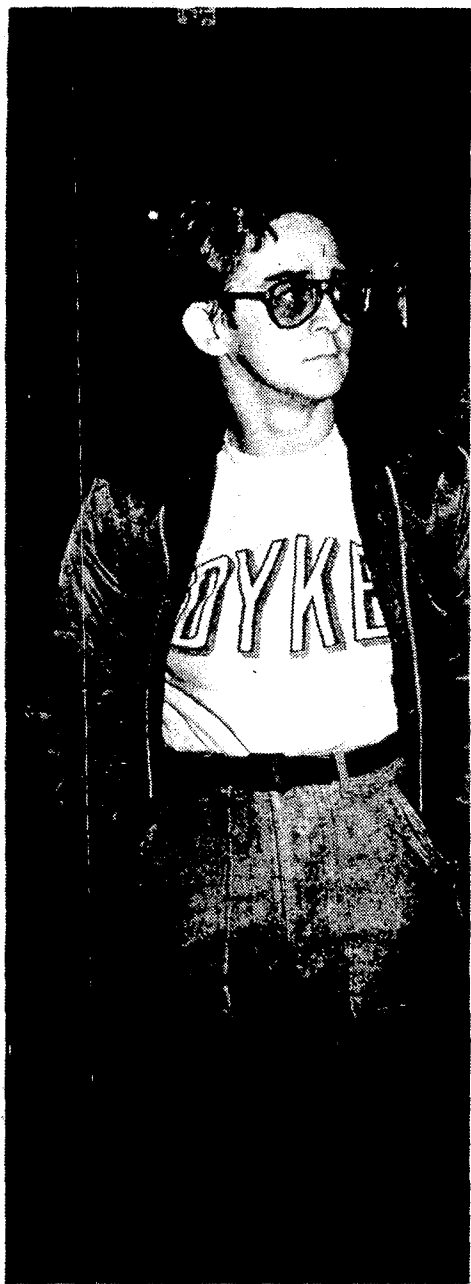
In 1969, a suit was filed against RCA, Litton, Raytheon, and General Electric,

Continued on page 20.



## SEXUALITY

## Straight talk on the Gay Pride march



By Kate Ellis

**T**HE SIDEWALKS AROUND THE Sheridan Square subway stop were almost impassable. The crowd, extending toward the river from Seventh Avenue, was more subdued in its dress than I had expected: mostly blue jeans and t-shirts on the men and women alike, and more Levis than designer labels. This was my second Gay Pride March, my first being an orgy of anti-Anita feeling in San Francisco a few months after her "triumph" in Dade County. I'd gone to it with my lover (a man) and the rest of my commune (some gay and some not) and we'd all had a wonderful time.

This year I was coming to meet the man who was planning to cover the march for this paper. I should look, he told me, for a lavender banner reading: "Fight the Right! Join the Rise of the Lavender Left. Lesbian and Gay Socialists." On the way there I saw my favor-

ite sign of the whole event: "My Son Is Gay and Makes My Day." The woman carrying it was standing next to an immense station wagon decorated with streamers and filled, as their banner said, with gay parents. No man would carry a sign like that, I thought. Moms are supposed to have this thing with their sons. The moms of gay sons particularly.

"Do you have one too?" the woman asked when I admired her sign. "I don't know yet," I said. "He's 14 and hasn't made a move one way or the other. I want to be ready, though, if it happens." Just then I was handed a leaflet put out by the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) supporting "Consensual sex regardless of age" and attacking "the anti-kidporn crusader, Judianne Densen-Gerber" as well as "the nutty religious right wing." This is a subject I have spent hours talking about with Scott, the man I am looking for, and I was relieved to finally find him. "Why do only men want to sleep with kids?" I ask him. "Why is there no girl/woman love association?"

Scott and I have talked a lot about sex as a part of your life that others are trying to control. The straight women I know find it easier to talk politically about sex roles than about sex itself, about getting it and not getting it. In our role as "the bought" in the sexual marketplace, we are (the women's movement notwithstanding) tied into the idea that access to sexuality is a matter of personal success or failure, a measure of individual "attractiveness." It is harder for us than for gay men and lesbians to think of sexuality in terms of a resistance to social control.

For gay people the situation is much clearer: this society (and most others) doesn't want them to have sex at all. Getting it brings you up against the law (can get you fired, evicted, picked up by the cops) and even wanting it brings out heavy psychological weaponry. The experience of sex itself is thus (among other things) a moment in an ongoing struggle that is intensely political.

"Give me some men that are stout-hearted men" sang an *a capella* group behind us, "and I'll soon give you 10,000 more!" It was a beautiful day, and I found myself breaking into small dance steps from time to time as I walked. I liked the rhythmical chants like "They Say (Koch Says, Carter Says, The Church Says) Get Back, We Say Fight Back." I was left cold, as always, by attempts to bring left language ("Smash the Sexist Bourgeoisie," for instance) into the streets. And I kept my mouth resolutely shut during "Smash the Family, Church and State."

"Some of our yells are hard for you straight folks," said Scott, handing me his end of the banner. "That's not the whole problem," I said.

I didn't tell him that I had nervously begged off calling people in the mixed left organization to which I belong to tell them about the march. In truth, few things make me as anxious as the thought that someone will think I am "one of them."

"Left support for third world causes is easy to come by," one bitter gay activist once told me, "because you all don't have to worry that people will think you're black." Any woman who has stepped out of line, or who has never been on it, has lived with the threat of being called a dyke. It's an integral part of living in a sexist society. Homophobia, in my view, is an implicit recognition of the enormous power of that threat.

I was reminded on the march that I don't mind being considered "one of us," however. That is, when a whole succession of women (a colleague, a fellow poet, two former students) greeted me as I carried Scott's banner with a hug and a "Wow! It's wonderful to see you here!" I could with full joy reply, "It's wonderful to see you here too!"

So I have to correct the notion that I'd



rather die than have people think I'm gay. Revised version: I'd rather die than have straight people think I'm gay. That would mean letting myself get thrown into the briar patch of ultimate failure: the failure to be attractive. Yet I didn't come to this march simply to check out the action and calibrate my responses. Intuition and one experience have convinced me that if they're not free, I'm not free.

The experience in question came around the time of my tenure decision, when a letter was circulated to the university president and board of governors accusing me of being a lesbian and urging that "this sort of thing not be institutionalized at Rutgers." I was accused of talking (unable to control myself) about lesbianism in classes regardless of their subject, and of bringing in guest lecturers "who had no expertise other than the fact of being lesbian." I was reported to have said to a student, "Wait till I get tenure. Then the good times are going to begin." Finally, I gave wild parties in my house, at which women danced with one another.

I replied to the pedagogical issues myself, saying that I taught women's studies, and that a course that did one week on racism, one week on homosexuality, and 13 weeks on straight white women was not always the best way to study the contemporary American woman. And yes, I invited guest lecturers into those classes to give women students a variety of role models. I acknowledged everything, in other words, except my sexual preference. I let my chairman deal with "the good times," let him say that he had been to every one of my parties, and had always had a wonderful time.

But suppose, I wondered later, he had not supported me. Or suppose he had been a woman, who could be suspected of liking to dance with others. What if the bottom line on which I had stood to make my defense had not been there? Suppose I had been a lesbian. What a terrible weapon of control our enemies have at their disposal, one that can zap us at the core of our identities. It is in the interests of straight, as well as of gay people to deprive them of that weapon.



## Towne

Continued from page 19.

all manufacturers of the radar equipment aboard the Connies, as well as Lockheed, the plane's primary contractor.

In Towne's case, an initial ploy on the companies' part did not succeed. "They offered to settle out of court if I would be completely silent and not tell anybody, especially the press. I told them to kiss my ass."

He eventually settled out of court for \$55,000 anyway, and he's been talking ever since. He was later awarded a 100 percent disability claim from the VA. The claim brings him and his wife \$800 a month. The VA never actually admitted that his disability might have been caused by MWR, calling it simply "service-connected."

In several of the other suits, the companies took advantage of California's one-year statute of limitations in personal injury cases. The state law there stipulates that a disability must appear within one year of the event believed to have caused it for any party to be held legally responsible. Consequently, some members of the group were denied any settlement at all.

Only recently has the VA grudgingly begun to give disability benefits to microwave victims. The percentage of successful claims with the VA Board of Appeals or in-court settlements still remains slight when compared with the total number attempted.

By 1972, Towne and fellow radar victims formed RVN. That was also the year that syndicated columnist Jack Anderson blew the top off a story that the CIA had suppressed information concerning attempts by Russian agencies to "brainwash" U.S. Embassy personnel in Moscow with MWR through radar beams directed into the building.

"We started off with a nucleus of guys off the Connies, then after the Jack Anderson article we began to expand." Towne runs RVN as a non-profit organization. Towne is not paid a salary, nor does he collect any dues. Funds to keep the Network afloat are generated by way of private donations from members and veterans groups, especially the Disabled American Veterans.

An excerpt from one of his form letters, used for answering requests for information, reads: "Impending blindness motivates my urgent efforts to share medical research data with others in the same predicament while they can still read and I can still type. Time is running out as vision deteriorates."

Patrick May is a freelance writer in San Francisco.

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By Pat Aufderheide

**"DON'T WORRY,"** they said to themselves as they watched the economic indicators plummet. "People will always go to the movies." Oops.

As recession plays hell with quarterly reports, entertainment industry people have been consoling themselves with time-worn wisdom—that entertainment, although subject to fashion, is relatively recession-proof. Look at the hardy film industry during the Depression.

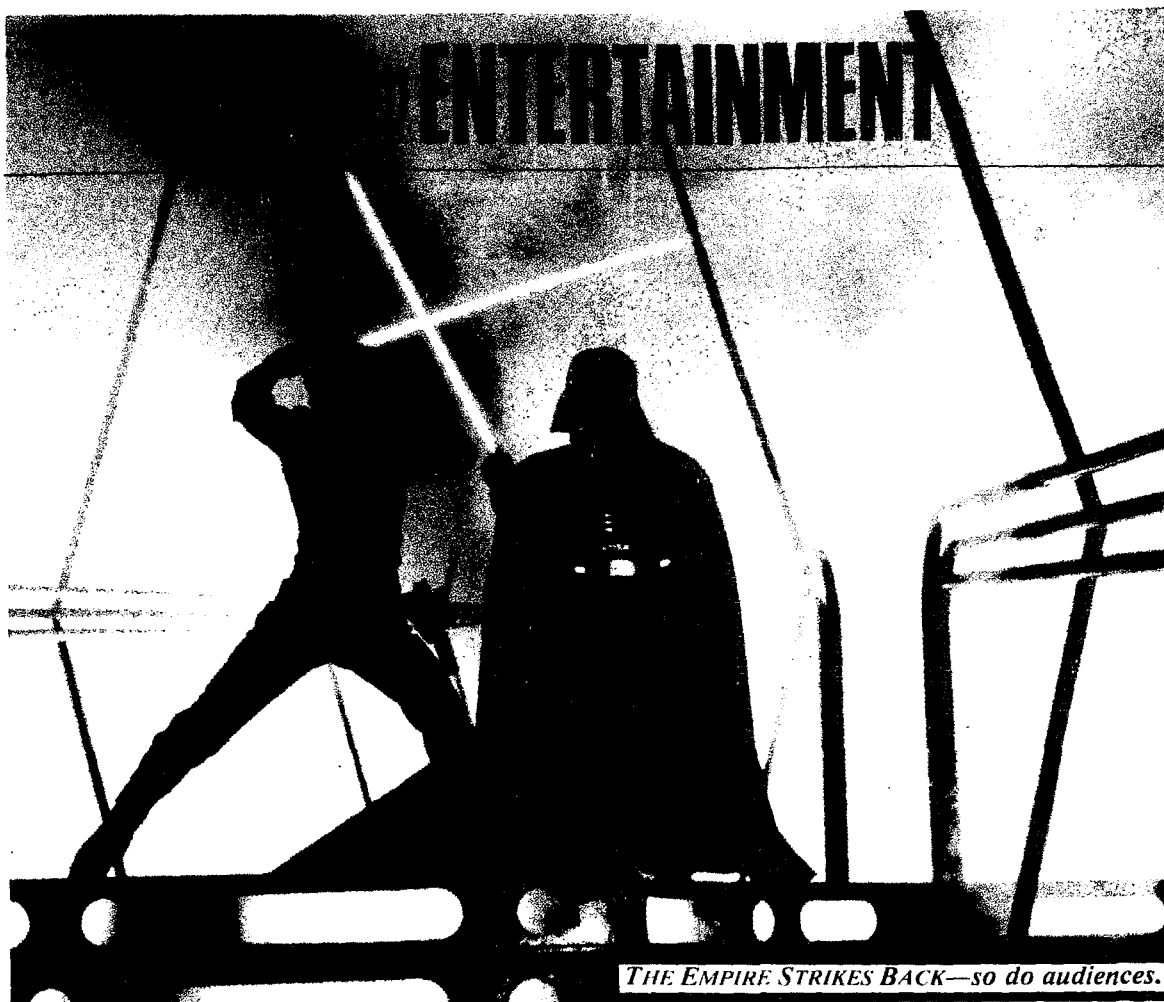
Now, as summer movies bomb at the box office, music sales show weak signs of recovering from the 1979 disc sales collapse, magazines folding and the publishing business looks sickly, the myth of the recession-proof entertainment industry is being traded in for a grimmer reality. And to help make it sink in, historical research shows that the film industry didn't do so well during the Depression after all.

#### Summer disaster films.

Despite the hollabaloo at Oscars time and the splashy Christmas ads, summer is the studio's money-making season. And this year it looks bad. The only film doing well in ticket receipts is (surprise) *The Empire Strikes Back*, whose profits largely go back to George Lucas.

Films with big-draw names—*Urban Cowboy* with pin-up John Travolta, *Bronco Billy* (Clint Eastwood as Mister Rogers), *Rough Cut* with Burt Reynolds, not to mention Stanley Kubrick's long-awaited "epic horror" film *The Shining*, are all limping along. *Can't Stop the Music* (\$11 million for its ad-visibility budget alone!) is being given up for dead. And the \$30 million *Blues Brothers*, neither as stinko as Hollywood veterans predicted nor as much of an *Animal House* in *Daleyland* as newcomers Belushi and Aykroyd hoped, is far indeed from justifying its gigantic budget.

People are not only boycotting these films; they're going to



## FILM

# Are movies no good—or is it the recession?

all movies less. Ticket sales have dropped more than 10 percent. There might be some misery-loves-company consolation for film execs in the fact that other kinds of under-\$10 entertainment are faring poorly as well. Book publishers looked at business that in 1979 shrank more than 10 percent from 1978 (which, admittedly, was a boom year, as it was in record sales).

In Las Vegas the names of performers are taking second billing to the alluring offer, "Gas 99 cents" on the marquee. Buffets seem more popular to the tourist's pocketbook than

fancy dinners, and lounges are a cheap alternative to big-name act shows.

On the other hand, it isn't as if people are forsaking all commercial entertainment. Amusement parks, for instance, seem to be doing well in spite of gas prices, especially ones offering flat prices (There's a bargain—if you can stand the pace—in a \$10 charge for an equal number of hours and unlimited terrorizing rides.)

The drop in movie business is bad news, suggesting a possible trend, for the prepackaged-fun merchants. Film people are

scurrying for answers. Is this rejection, recession or just clumsy marketing? Some—hard pressed publicity people, for instance, point to the sudden wealth of movie choices competing for a fixed number of dollars.

Others—disgruntled exhibitors, for instance—say that people just don't want to see bad movies. A "rocking horse western" like *Urban Cowboy*, for instance, may be one step too far for a thinking patron. The surprising success of *Brubaker*, starring Robert Redford, builds their case. After a quiet beginning, word of mouth and critical

## MUSIC

# Reviving the real country song

#### Folk and Country Songs of the FDR Years

By Roy Berkeley with Tim Woodbridge

Longview Records, Box 311, Shaftsbury, VT 05262  
\$6.35 (single copy); \$5.85 (two or more)

By Ron Radosh

There was a time when country music was not a mass, commercialized medium. Instead, as Marxist critic Tim Patterson has put it, "The best and most active singers and musicians...in any community were valued and respected people, esteemed because their abilities were located in a cultural form closely tied to everyday life." The audience for this music in the '20s and '30s was the rural, agricultural Southern white underclass. Roy Berkeley rediscovers, celebrates, plays and sings this music on his new album.

Berkeley plays a strong flat-pick guitar style that matches the originals. Accompanied by Tim Woodbridge on five-string banjo, mandolin and National

steel guitar and tenor harmony, he captures the sound and voice of an all but forgotten tradition.

Berkeley's sophisticated liner notes reflect his care and commitment. The songs, he writes, are about "the Depression, the rights of working people, racial justice and the war." Side one contains unknown tunes by singers like Dave McCarn, who perhaps typified the country singer as organic intellectual, the brain of a pre-industrial proletariat in a time of transition. A mill hand himself, McCarn wrote "Cotton Mill Colic," which explores how country people responded to the factory.

Jimmie Rodgers' classic "No Hard Times Blues" captures the sweet yodel that made Rodgers famous. The side continues with new finds, including Bill Cox's "Democratic Donkey" that celebrates access to federal patronage jobs in the South; an ode to FDR by one "Scotty the Drifter," who praises the president for keeping the U.S. out of war and then offers to fight if the president ever changes his mind; and "I'd Rather Not Be on Relief," a song composed by Lester

Hunter, a migrant worker who performed his song for children at a Farm Security Administration camp in California in 1938.

Berkeley's second side is a must for folk buffs. We have to thank him for cutting "The Ballad of October 16," the best known of the controversial anti-war, anti-FDR songs from the Almanacs' "Songs for John Doe" album recorded in May and immediately taken out of circulation on June 22, 1941, after the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. Another piece comes from the era of the second Popular Front, a pro-war ditty from the Almanacs in 1942—"UAW-CIO," that praises labor's role in the war effort. Berkeley writes that he likes the song's "idea of a democratic labor movement, fighting for workers' rights and human freedom at home and abroad"; but he strangely fails to inquire how labor leadership could use that interventionary spirit during the Cold War era in support of American expansionism and even Vietnam. Side two also contains Berkeley's lilting rendition—different from the original—of Big Bill Broonzy's



Jimmy Rodgers

classic "Black, Brown and White Blues," one of the few direct protests by the veteran late bluesman against Jim Crow.

Berkeley would have done better to choose a less famous and more appropriate Guthrie tune than "Tom Joad"—perhaps "Dear Mrs. Roosevelt." He might have skipped "No Depression in Heaven," already available on the solid New Lost City Ramblers album "Songs of the Depression." But his album, which he produced and distributed himself, is a small gem—a testimony to the sound and voices of a past era.

praise has boosted its box office receipts into respectability.

The economic explanation—that people are choosing not to spend money on entertainment, or at least not on movies, when money gets tight—is the favored explanation of studio reps, the people responsible for picking the movie subjects and timing their release. Certainly history supports their argument, even if it doesn't absolve them.

#### Depression movies.

A recent study by Theodore James Jr., a general partner in Montgomery Securities, shows that box office receipts fell 34 percent between 1930 and 1934, and dipped again during the 1938 recession. In 1938 seven of eight major studios registered profit declines, while the eighth registered a loss. Unemployment rose dramatically in the industry during the same period, while total investment fell.

Where did the myth of recession-proof Hollywood get started? Partly it was because the losses sustained by the film industry during the Depression lagged slightly behind the general economy. Films were a cheaper source of entertainment than many other alternatives for a night out on the town. So for a while, going to the movies was an economy measure.

The myth sustained when the film industry sailed through the 1974 recession, at least on paper. Apparently it did well for two reasons: increased ticket prices, and the fabulous success of *Jaws*. (Is it any wonder Steven Spielberg could do anything he wanted after that?) Among other things this latter fact is a reminder of the tiny size of film as an industry.

That being so, perhaps the current production strategy works against long-range endurance of a difficult economic period. The studios go for big, over-priced productions with "elements" that can be pre-sold to TV, cable, videocassettes and to overseas distributors. They concentrate ad budgets on a few big productions as well.

Whiz kids waving calculators are hard at work dispensing with a live audience and its (comparatively) small-time ticket revenues entirely. This year total movie sales were down disturbingly at the world's biggest film market, Cannes. But corporate planners, including reps from Time-Life and ABC Motion Pictures were there to, as they put it, "take the Las Vegas crapshoot out of the game." They want to presell fewer films more securely. One commented that, in otherwise grim times the "picture trade has become incredibly successful—on the growth of ancillary markets." But some observers, including sometimes cranky independent film distribution veteran Sam Arkoff, maintain that those ancillary markets (cable, syndication, home video, foreign markets) just aren't well enough developed yet to warrant killing off the golden goose—that live audience. Like the critics, Arkoff can't believe you can produce something with no movie-house appeal forever.

The next couple of years, as hardware in cable and cassette begins to meet the software of movie product, will test the corporate planners' approach to filmmaking. At the least what the burgeoning of those "ancillary markets" does is to provide yet another dodge before film studios face public moviegoing apathy with a solution involving the quality, variety and ingenuity of films themselves.



# COAL

Continued from page 13.

frey. "The greatest advantage of the federal law is its stress on citizen participation," he said.

Because the state procedures do not guarantee anonymity for citizen complaints, many have been afraid to speak out. Last fall two SOCM members in Campbell County lost their homes in mysterious fires. One had just testified before a state legislative body that blasting was damaging houses in his community. The other played an active role in several interventions against applications to strip mine his community.

An attorney in the state attorney general's office has publicly linked the fires to "wildcatters." These are operators who arrange with the owner of a coal-bearing property to strip it without getting a state permit. Wildcatters account for about 10 percent of Tennessee coal production, but a much higher proportion of the damage. They are unreconstructed holdovers from the rip-and-run school of strip mining, fringe operators who got into it too late or too small to get the long-term leases and the big contracts with TVA. The well-established coal operators are now successful enough to accommodate the strictures of the new laws (which is not to say they don't try to evade them when possible).

## Stopping the wildcatters.

Illegal strip mining is not very hard to get away with. Wildcatters work small, marginally productive sites on the edges of the coalfields that are often back in the hollows and out of sight of public roads. To monitor them would take an adequately funded enforcement agency with a committed professional staff and easy access to a helicopter. No such agency exists.

The 1972 Tennessee law was to be enforced by the Division of Surface Mining (DSM) of the Tennessee Department

of Conservation. The 1977 federal law left state agencies in charge for an interim period, subject to review by the Department of the Interior's Office of Surface Mining (OSM) in November 1980. At that time OSM must approve the state's proposed enforcement program, or take over itself. In the meantime, DSM has primary responsibility while OSM hovers in the background, doing its own inspections only occasionally. SOCM wants OSM to take over enforcement.

Discussing the defects of DSM enforcement, Peggy Mathews of the SOCM staff says, "There's a kind of natural selection process that goes on with state inspectors. A decent inspector gets hired and tries to take action against a company and the company refuses to cooperate because they know from past experience that they won't get punished. The inspector pursues the matter and DSM legal staff doesn't take any action. That inspector will either leave the force or stay and just put in his time. Some inspectors have been threatened."

"Then there are state inspectors who are right in there with these local boys from the beginning. We've heard of instances where a state inspector will give tips to strip miners on how to get around the laws. The training requirements are pretty low and the salary isn't very good. It's a natural training ground for the coal industry. These guys will put in two years learning all the laws and getting technical knowledge about strip mining, and then get hired by the strip miners that they've been regulating. That kind of turnover is constantly happening."

According to SOCM, OSM personnel are more professional, with higher morale, better pay and training, and more dependable backup from their superiors. (None of the OSM inspectors in east Tennessee has taken a job with the coal industry.) OSM began a major move against wildcatters in May, after their own inspectors were assaulted. A special force of 16 federal marshalls and three helicopters spent a week making raids on wildcat operations in the Stinking Creek area of Campbell County. Two promi-

nent wildcatters were arrested and fined by a federal judge in Knoxville.

But this was an exceptional action. Coal and coal-based synfuels are a major component of the Carter energy program, and it may be unrealistic to expect a consistently strong enforcement effort.

One important reason wildcatters have been able to get away with it so easily is that people who live in the coalfields have contradictory feelings about them. The same people who declare fervently that strip mining is ruining the land sometimes turn out to have leased their own land for stripping. Absentee ownership has produced a pervasive sense of powerlessness, a conviction that if "they" want to get the coal out of the ground, there's not much that can be done to stop them; you might as well get yours.

Then there is a certain grudging admiration for wildcatters. Imbued with the mystique of the old-time moonshiner, the wildcatter projects the image of the poor boy who just had to go outside the law and dodge the feds to put food on his family's table. The fact that his problem is more likely to be keeping up the payments on a Cadillac is ignored.

The poverty of the small farmers who live on the agriculturally marginal fringes of the coal area contribute to wildcattering too. The wildcatter goes to a farmer whose land is mostly steep slope, with only a small patch of fertile bottomland and says, "Let me strip that back 50

acres of yours; it'll pay off your tractor and get you a new car too." Even if a farmer can resist that kind of pressure, he's not likely to blow the whistle on a neighbor who can't.

Finally there is the fact that even though a small fraction of the working population is actually making a living from strip mining, almost everyone in a mining area has a friend or relative who is.

Still, SOCM has won some important victories. Land companies and coal operators now pay some taxes where they paid none before. Legislation has placed significant limits on strip mining, and the law is being enforced to some degree, so that the gross damage has been curtailed. An application by AMAX to strip 5,000 acres was challenged and stopped because it would have violated water quality standards. There has been more enforcement of coal truck weight limits, so that rural roads and bridges are lasting longer. TVA's responsibility for the stripping of Appalachia is now more widely known, and the mammoth utility is under some pressure to clean up its act.

These victories are all partial and require constant vigilance. It is relentless and often dangerous work, but it also brings a sense of power to people who have been without it for generations. According to SOCM member Kate Bradley, "Before SOCM the mountain people felt helpless, without any defense."

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### MILWAUKEE, WI

#### July 23-27

The NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT 1980 NATIONAL CONVENTION will be held at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The topics include: the state of U.S. politics today, the family and sexuality, the draft and the Cold War, runaway shops, new urban coalitions and more. For more information contact: N.A.M. National Office, 3244 N. Clark, Chicago, IL 60657; (312)871-7700.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### July 21

There will be a MASS ANTI-DRAFT RALLY on the first evening of registration, Monday, 6-9 p.m., on the upper west side of Manhattan (72nd Street and Broadway vicinity). Speakers include: Councilmember Ruth Messinger, Assemblyman Jerrold Nadler, Kevin Lynch of District 85-UAW, Michael Harrington, Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Rev. Barry Lynn, Director of National C.A.R.D., plus entertainment. Call (212)260-2002 for more information.

### ANN ARBOR, MI

#### August 3-8

EXTENDING WORKPLACE DEMOCRACY, a weeklong Summer School for Union Leaders and Activists, University and Union Labor Educators. Sponsored by the Labor Studies Center, University of Michigan. Resource people include: RANDY BARBER, BERTIL GARDELL, HARLEY SHAIKEN, and

DAN ZERDLING. For information call (313) 764-0492 and check ad this issue.

### YELLOW SPRINGS, OH

#### August 8-11

WYSO-FM sponsors the fourth annual radio production seminar, ALTERNATIVES IN RADIO JOURNALISM: PERSPECTIVES FOR THE 80'S. Focus on energy, the economy, and the entertainment industry. Also radio production workshops and critique sessions. For schedule, price and registration information, call or write Sherry Novick, WYSO, Yellow Springs, OH 45387, (513)767-1722.

### WILMINGTON, OH

#### August 21-25

Come to the DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE SUMMER YOUTH CONFERENCE. Hundreds of young activists will gather to discuss left theory and strategy. Invited speakers include: Michael Harrington, Norman Birnbaum, Sara Evans, Roberta Lynch and James Farmer. Registration (includes all meals) is \$75.00. Limited travel scholarships available. Contact DSOC, 853 Broadway, Rm. 801, New York, NY 10003. (212)260-3270.

### SANTA CRUZ, CA

#### August 23-27

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF ENERGY IN THE '80S will be the major theme of the annual SUMMER CONFERENCE of the UNION FOR RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS on the University of California campus at Santa Cruz. People planning to sleep in the campus accommodations must pre-register. Write or call URPE, Room 901, 41 Union Square West, NY, NY 10003; (212)691-5722. Best day for one day's attendance will be Sunday, Aug. 24. Day care provided.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE AUTO WORKERS UNIONS

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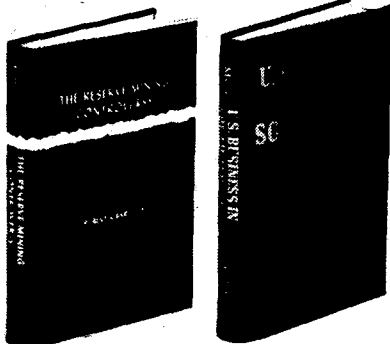
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## U.S. BUSINESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Economic, Political, and Moral Issues

Desaix Myers III, with Kenneth Propp, David Hauck, and David M. Liff

This study, by the staff of the Investor Responsibility Research Center, supplies the background and context of apartheid, reviews government labor policies, and through case studies focuses on specific industries. "... addresses virtually every aspect of post-1910 socio-economic history in South Africa. ... the prime reference on the subject." —The Kirkus Reviews \$17.50

## DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

**Citizens Energy Project**  
1110 6th Street, NW, #300  
Washington, DC 20001

**The Citizens Party - National Office**  
525 13th Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20004

**The Citizens Party of Illinois**  
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603  
Chicago, IL 60602  
(312) 322-2066

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**  
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002

**C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities**  
2000 P Street, N.W.  
Suite 413  
Washington, DC 20036

**DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee**  
853 Broadway, Room 801  
New York, NY 10003

**Midwest Academy**  
600 West Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

**National Center for Economic Alternatives**  
2000 P Street, N.W.  
Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036

**NAM-New American Movement**  
3244 N. Clark St.  
Chicago, IL 60657

**New Patriot Alliance**  
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305  
Chicago, IL 60604

**Socialist Party, U.S.A.**  
Suite 325  
135 W. Wells Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

**Working Women**  
1258 Euclid Avenue  
Cleveland, OH 44111



# MUSIC



## Emmylou recreates spirit of country

By Rick Ridder

Once upon a time there was going to be a record album of almost mythic proportions. It had record company marketeers and corporate finance chairmen salivating over its megabuck prospects. It was to be the ultimate country cross-over album, featuring the reigning queens of

pop-country—Linda Ronstadt, Dolly Parton and Emmylou Harris.

That was over two years ago, and the legal bills are still piling up.

Meanwhile, Linda Ronstadt has gone pseudo new wave, Dolly has turned to the big screen, and Emmylou Harris has redirected herself into traditional country music.

Harris' *Roses in the Snow* (Warner) brings her full circle from her early efforts in traditional country with Gram Parsons, to her country-rock efforts of the mid-'70s and her contemporary country sound of recent recordings.

There were inklings of this return to "classical" country on Harris' *Blue Kentucky Girl* album. On that recording, Harris' rendition of Charlie and Ira Louvin's "Everytime You Leave" begins to hint at the warm texture and emotionalism of a true country ballad. But the use of a saccharin orchestrated string section diminished the impact and put the song into a pop-country mold.

On *Roses in the Snow*, producer Brian Ahern uses no such string section. The production is rawer, and captures the instrumentation and vocals as they might sound live at a country music festival. The songs, mostly selections recorded by other artists in other decades, have an unmistakable religiosity about them. In many cases, such as "Jordan," it can be readily heard in the lyrics; in others, it is in the impact the music has upon the listener.

Traditional country music, with its roots deeply set in the gospel, is intended to uplift one who is spiritually depraved or emotionally depressed. The ability to provoke this catharsis is integral to the success of a rendering of a country song. It is evi-

dent to some degree on *Roses in the Snow* in every song except Paul Simon's "The Boxer."

That song simply lacks impact when interpreted with country instrumentation and presentation, in part because of its lack of a gospel heritage, and in part because it is all too familiar in another arrangement. "The Boxer's" failure in a traditional country mode does underscore the differences of interpreting a song in a musical genre dissimilar from the original—and of attempting a "classic," no matter what the genre.

When a contemporary artist is able through a new arrangement

IN THESE TIMES JULY 16-29, 1980 23

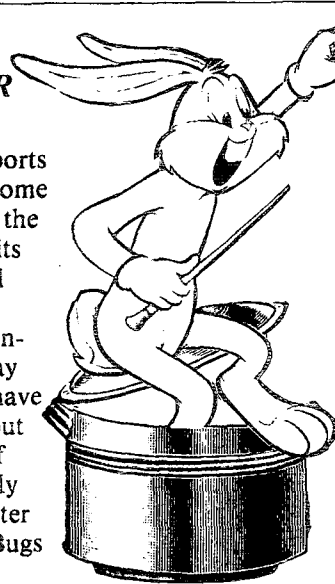
to evoke a like emotional response to the original and still maintain an individual imprimatur on his or her version, then the artist has succeeded. Emmylou Harris succeeds on "Roses in the Snow" with traditional classics such as "Wayfaring Stranger," "Miss the Mississippi," and "Gold Watch and Chain," because she does not try to rock 'n' roll with a country song, and because of her understanding of the spirit of traditional country music.

Rick Ridder is an independent producer who produced "Country Greats in Concert" for ABC radio.

## CULTURE SHOCK

### HAVE A BUNNY FOR DINNER

Rabbit meat, reports Zodiac, may become more popular in the U.S., since rabbits are easy to breed and nutritious. However, meat industry sources say Americans will have to be educated out of their image of rabbits as friendly creatures like Peter Cottontail and Bugs Bunny.



### SHOW I SPENT MY VACATION

Tourist agencies in the Northwest are already advertising the attraction of Mount St. Helens. A Portland Convention and Visitor Association spokesman said that the volcanic action "has helped put Portland and southwest Washington on the map."

## CLASSIFIED

### AWARDS

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### PUBLICATIONS

LABOR OUTREACH GUIDE for anti-nuke activists. Abalone Alliance, 944 Market, #307, San Francisco, CA 94102. \$2.

CHRISTIAN LOVE—atheist anarchist pamphlet, \$1.50. David Soncnechein, 612 Pressler, Austin, TX 78703.

JULY-AUG. JEWISH CURRENTS. For Aug. 12 Anniversary: Itzik Feffer, I Am A Jew; Gerald Stillman, Soviet Yiddish Fiction; Michael Miraki, Soviet Evacuations in World War II; Interview with Morris U. Schappes on Morris Raphael Cohen; Readers' Forum on PLO; Editorial, Long Hot Summer for Israel? Single copy \$1.00, Subscription \$10 yearly USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17th St., N.Y.C. Louis Harap's pamphlet, "The Zionist Movement Revisited" 60¢. Albert Prago's pamphlet, "Jews in the International Brigades in Spain," 75¢.

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IN THESE TIMES needs a part-time worker to assist in promotional mailings, special projects, and general office duties. The job entails 12-16 hours per week and pays \$4/hr. Write or call: Bill Rehm, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622, (312)489-4444.

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## AMERICAN

**V**OX POPULI? IS THAT ALL THERE is to the American Dream, as celebrated in thousands of 60-second and 10-second spots each day on all channels? A mercantile language, debased, and nothing else? Is there no other language, no other dream?"

In the life stories of 100 Americans that comprise his newest book, *American Dreams: Lost and Found*, Studs Terkel hears a common cry for social change, a reawakened sense of human possibility and interest in community.

Accustomed to "forfeiting their own life experience, their native intelligence, their personal pride, they allow more celebrated surrogates, whose imaginations may be no larger than theirs, to think for them, to speak for them, to be for them in the name of the greater good."

Yet, "in unexpected quarters, those hitherto quiescent are finding voice" and Studs perceives a new American Dream in the making: "There are nascent stirrings in the neighborhood and in the field, articulated by non-celebrated people who bespeak the dreams of their fellows... Unfortunately, it is not covered on the six o'clock news."

**S**HE'S DIRECTOR OF THE MIDWEST Community Council, a grass-roots organization on Chicago's West Side. It is comprised of 500 block clubs. "Its purpose is to organize people to speak for themselves and make their own decisions for the community. I don't get tired where I work. I work maybe 30 hours a day." (Laughs.)

I'm a farmer's daughter, one of 13 children from the hills of Tennessee. Paris. My father still lives in Tennessee, a man that can't read and write and gave us so much. His will was that all of us be able to read and write. Dad didn't have a formal education, but he's the most educated man I've ever met.

I say to the folks on the West Side: "It's up to you to educate your child." Most parents think: I can't help my child, I only went to fourth grade. We started an awareness group, and I gave them what happened to me. My father makes an X for his name, but he taught me how to read. I remember all 13 of us had to sit down in front of the fireplace. Sometimes we had oil in the lamps and sometimes we didn't. If we didn't, Dad had made a big fire, and the glare of the fireplace would give us light.

I was 11 years old before I knew my father couldn't read or write. We'd get to a word and we'd stumble over it. He'd say: "Read that over again. You're stumblin' over that word." We thought he knew what that word was. He knew it didn't sound right to him. He'd tell us: "Chop it up, like you're choppin' cotton. You know how you get weeds out of cotton. Chop the word up like that an' put it back together again." That was really teaching phonics. (Laughs.)

We were sharecroppers. We were always in debt. He would say to the boys: "Now you go out in that field. There's not gonna be anybody out there but you and that mule. There ain't nobody around to see you. But there are certain things you won't do because it's you. You don't violate yourself."

The boss, the white man we lived with, didn't want us to go to school. I'll never forget the day the boss came down on a horse. He said to my mother: "I want that gal, the oldest gal, to go to the field today 'cause we gotta get that cotton out." My mother said: "No, she's goin' to school." He says: "What're you tryin' to make out of that gal?" I remember her puttin' her hands on her

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hips and she said: "She might be a whore, but she's gonna be an educated whore." (Laughs.)

I think that's what it's all about. We have got to invest in ourselves. If the community's gonna change, neighborhood's gonna change, society's gonna change, the world's gonna change, it's by individuals. Not by big bureaucracy, not by the Exxons, not by all that.

If we take the time to educate people, they will have the tools to act with. No person wants to be ignorant. If he has the tools, he understands: This is your street, this is your house, whether you're a tenant or whether you own, this is your community. How do we make people kinship to where they are? Somehow, we lost a part of that humanhood we were taught, that personhood.

It's not easy to work person by person, people by people, block by block, precinct by precinct. But I'm optimistic about it.

This mornin' I had a young man. That's why I was late comin' here. He had taken some money from us. I didn't think I'd see him again. I spread the word: "Watch out, he's a bad egg." Today, out of a clear blue sky, he walked into my office. He says: "I want to talk to you." Everybody in the office knew he was in our list to watch out. He says: "I want to pay back my debt at \$50 a month. I've gotten a job. I didn't want to see you until I got a job."

I was the happiest person in the world

because somethin' brought him back. What you do is not lost. I told him that's what it's all about. It's havin' the courage to repent. He smiled. I don't know what made him come back. Was it the spirit in the community?

In the South, it was the country preacher that held things together. You talked to the preacher about how to get help. With education, it was the teachers. They lived in the community, were part of it. Here, the president of the block keeps the community together.

We take in 10 blocks. We visualize that as a little town. Each has a president. We have somebody who is over all. He's sort of the mayor of these 10 blocks. Everybody begins to get involved in everything: garbage disposal, traffic lights. We're sayin': "Don't disrespect yourself, and don't allow anyone to disrespect you." That brings you into the politics of the city.

*The Democratic machine of Chicago has people on the block, precinct captains, who profess to help. They make themselves known to everybody around. Call one Rosemary. Call the other Charlie. What can you do that they can't do?*

I know that Charlie. If I'm hungry, I can go to him and say: "Charlie, I'm hungry." Charlie will find me some food. If my son got in jail or whatever, I can go to him. It's that neighborhood concept, it makes the world. But he and Rosemary think of the best interests of the machine.

NANCY JEFFERSON, VETERAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZER IN CHICAGO, TELLS STUDS TERKEL HER VISION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

Our Rosemary and our Charlie are our block-club presidents. They think of the best interests of the block.

On the West Side right now, they have become more politically sophisticated than they were in the '60s. I even say to folks: "Don't put your trust in me. Better to trust yourself. I may die tomorrow (laughs), and what're you gonna do? You've gotta do it."

We've got a motto. It's all written up: "Your house is part of this block. This block is part of this city. This city is part of this state. This state is part of the United States of America. You're involved all the way."

This summer we did a demonstration on the boulevards of the West Side. People were disturbed that they could never get the boulevard seeded. Every year they'd tell us they ran out of grass. This went on for five years. Now they said: "It will be August before we get to you. We don't have the equipment."

We had a meetin' with the officials and we said: "We've computed our taxes, and rather than charge you with malfeasance, we will have a press conference tomorrow and say we're going to withhold that part of the money from our tax dollars and buy our own seed. We'll put our folks to work—we've got a lot of unemployed fellows—and we can buy machinery and seed our own lawns."

At nine o'clock the next morning, they came up with hundreds and hundreds of pounds of seed grass, all the workers that we wanted, and we got all our lawns seeded.

Now I said: "You can make decisions about anything you're payin' for. The garbage, the sanitation, the police, the crime, the teachers." We're havin' a lot of fun right now. We have what we call awareness education classes.

The police commander of our district said crime went down, and he laughs and says: "I don't want to say it went down because of what you all are doing, but maybe so." We got 17 men, they're kinda tough guys. I said to them: "You just stand on the corners." We've got four, five preachers with 'em. It has taken an effect.

It's not the kind of thing that television picks up because it's not sensational. But it is sensational to the people here. My father talked about it. "Don't worry about the papers and all that," he said. "It's peace within you." I'm religious. I believe in the Christian principles. When Christ was here, he must have said: "Let's get it together." (Laughs.)

Down in the country, we used to have to ring the bell if there was trouble or we'd ring it for dinner. You used to pull this rope. (Laughs.) Sometime, especially if it was cold, you'd keep pullin' and keep pullin' the bell. You'd think you'd never hear a sound. Maybe by the time your hands got raw almost, you'd hear a little tinklin' of the bell.

That's just the way I visualize the community. We all keep pullin' at the rope and our hands are gettin' raw, but you do hear a little tinklin'. We gotta do it, we must do it. We have no other choice. As my father said: "If you're the only one doin' it, the only one left in the world to do it, you must do it." We gotta keep pullin'. And I believe the bell will ring.

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